REPORT RESUMES

ED 013 373 48 AA 000 225
ARABIC DIALECT STUDIES, A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.
BY- SOBELMAN, HARVEY AND OTHERS
CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS, WASHINGTON, D.C.
REPORT NUMBER NDEA-VI-138 PUB DATE APR 62
MIDDLE EAST INST., WASHINGTON, D.C.
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$4.24 109P.

DESCRIPTORS- *ARABIC, *BIBLIOGRAPHIES, *DIALECT STUDIES, *NONSTANDARD DIALECTS, *LINGUISTICS, *LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION

FOUR BIBLIOGRAPHIC REVIEW ARTICLES ON ARABIC DIALECT STUDIES THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY APPEARED WERE CORRECTED AND UPDATED FOR PUBLICATION. THE PURPOSE OF THESE REVISED ARTICLES IS TO PROVIDE THE INTERESTED STUDENT WITH A CAREFULLY EVALUATED LIST OF ALL THE SIGNIFICANT SCHOLARLY WORK PUBLISHED ON ARABIC DIALECTS. THE AUTHORS OF THE ORIGINAL FOUR ARTICLES SUPPLIED ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS. THE PRESENT COLLECTION OF ARTICLES COVERS MOST OF ARABIC-SPEAKING WORLD BUT SEVERAL AREAS ARE NOT TREATED, IN PARTICULAR THE ARABIC OF THE SUDAN, EASTERN AND WESTERN, AND THE ARABIC OF CENTRAL ASIA. THE FINAL WORK INCLUDED STUDIES ON--(1) SYRIAN ARABIC, (2) EGYPTIAN ARABIC, (3) ARABIAN PENISULA ARABIC, (4) IRAQI ARABIC, (5) NORTH AFRICAN ARABIC, AND (6) MALTESE ARABIC. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE, 1761 N STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C. (TC)

138

ED013373

arabic dialect studies

a selected bibliography

Harvey Sobelman, Editor

Charles A. Ferguson
Richard S. Harrell
R. A. C. Goodison
Haim Blanc
T. B. Irving
P. P. Saydon

AA000225

Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association
and The Middle East Institute Washington D. C. 1962

arabic dialect studies,

a selected bibliography

Harvey Sobelman, Editor

Charles A. Ferguson
Richard S. Harrell
R. A. C. Goodison
Haim Blanc
T. B. Irving
P. P. Saydon

Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association
and The Middle East Institute Washington D. C. 1962

Copyright 1962 by the Center for Applied Linguistics of the
Modern Language Association of America.

Distributed by the Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N.W.,
Washington 6, D.C.

The research reported on herein was performed pursuant
to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S.
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Contents

INTRODUCTION v

SYRIAN ARABIC STUDIES by Charles A. Ferguson 1

EGYPTIAN ARABIC STUDIES by Richard S. Harrell 18

ARABIAN PENINSULA ARABIC STUDIES by R.A.C. Goodison 31

IRAQI ARABIC STUDIES by Haim Blanc 48

NORTH AFRICAN ARABIC STUDIES by T.B. Irving 58

MALTESE ARABIC STUDIES by P.P. Saydon 89

Between 1955 and 1959 four bibliographic review articles on Arabic dialect studies appeared in the Middle East Journal.* In 1960 the Center for Applied Linguistics undertook to bring these articles up to date and to commission additional articles to provide further coverage. This project was carried out pursuant to a contract with the U.S. Office of Education under the provisions of the National Defense Education Act, and the present volume which is jointly published by the Middle East Institute and the Center for Applied Linguistics is the outcome of the project.

The purpose of these articles is to provide the interested student with a carefully evaluated list of all the significant scholarly work published on Arabic dialects. Assembling the material in this field is more difficult than in many other fields of linguistic work because the works are not concentrated in a few well-known periodicals but are scattered through a wide range of publications including a number of relatively obscure journals.

The authors of the original four articles were asked to supply additions or corrections and all did so. In addition Mark W. Cowell did some checking of items for the Syrian study. Dr. Thomas B. Irving was asked to write an article on North African Arabic, and Dr. P.P. Saydon, who had published a bibliography of works on Maltese, was asked to revise his bibliography to bring it into line with the aim and form of the other articles. Finally Dr. Sobelman undertook the difficult editorial task of incorporating the suggested changes, verifying some of the references, and making the form of the articles as nearly uniform as feasible. In the case of the North African article, which was a totally new venture and covered more ground than any of the others, Sobelman's editorial responsibility included a considerable amount of condensation and rewriting.

---

*Charles A. Ferguson, "Syrian Arabic Studies", MEJ 9.187-94 (1955); Richard S. Harrell, "Egyptian Arabic Studies", MEJ 10.307-12 (1956); R.A.C. Goodison, "Arabic Dialect Studies - Arabian Peninsula", MEJ 12.205-13 (1958); Haim Blanc, "Iraqi Arabic Studies", MEJ 13.449-53 (1959).

The present collection of articles covers most of the Arabic-speaking world but several areas are not treated, in particular the Arabic of the Sudan, Eastern and Western, and the Arabic of Central Asia. Also, general works which cut across dialect boundaries or treat selected topics for all dialects have only occasionally been included. The reader who wants guidance in any of these fields must be referred to general bibliographical studies such as those under the entry "^{c}Arabiyya" in the new edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam or to lists of works cited such as that found in W. Fischer's book Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte ('s-Gravenhage, 1959). Even with these omissions it is the hope of the Center that this little volume will prove valuable to linguists and students of Arabic dialectology.

Charles A. Ferguson
Director
Center for Applied Linguistics

April 1962

Syrian Arabic Studies by Charles A. Ferguson

Introduction

The purpose of this bibliographical sketch is to give a selective listing, with brief evaluations, of useful works on Syrian Arabic published before World War II, and a more detailed description of those published since then. For the prewar period the emphasis will be chiefly on reliable linguistic studies, but for the contemporary period pedagogical works will be given equal consideration. The term "Syrian Arabic" will be used in this article to include any variety of Arabic spoken by the settled populations of the area formerly comprising Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan.

General and Comparative Studies

For general description of the dialect area as a whole and classification of the various subdialects, the two most useful studies are still Bergsträsser's Sprachatlas (1915) and Cantineau's brief article, "Quelques remarques sur les parlers de sédentaires. . . ." (1939).

Bergsträsser's atlas contains some forty maps of the area with isoglosses showing the distribution of various linguistic features - phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical. It is based on all the work published up to the time of its compilation plus the investigations of Bergsträsser himself. It is remarkably well done and its flaws are either due to reliance on poor work done by Bergsträsser's predecessors or simply to a lack of information for a given district. A recent article by Fleisch (1959) supplements and corrects Bergsträsser, especially for the area of Central Lebanon (Chouf, Metene, Kesrouane), which is covered in considerable detail, with important isoglottic bundles established.

Cantineau's article attempts a preliminary classification of the Arabic of the Syrian area and selects criteria to be used in delimiting several subdialects of Syrian "sedentary" Arabic. The classification is somewhat tentative because of the large gaps remaining where no data are available.

It is worth noting that many Syrian dialect studies have titles which proclaim them to be general but are actually based on the speech of one small district in the area. For example, Driver's Grammar (1925) is based on certain varieties of Palestinian speech (Jerusalem and some of the village dialects) and is quite unreliable when it refers to Syria or Lebanon, or even specifically to Damascus or Aleppo.

As more and more material becomes available a new, more inclusive and accurate general study must be attempted. Cantineau has taken steps in this direction in his Horan study (1946)[1] and elsewhere; but it is to be hoped that in the next several years some one linguist or group of linguists can provide us with a satisfactory general treatment of the area.

Among the historical studies of Syrian Arabic we should note a series of articles by Vilenčik (1927-1929, 1930).

Dictionaries

The largest and by far the best dictionary of Syrian Arabic is Barthélemy's Dictionnaire (1935-1954). The first three fascicles were published during the author's lifetime, while the posthumous fourth and fifth fascicles were edited by H. Fleisch. It is Arabic-French only. This dictionary is based primarily on the Arabic of Aleppo and is much less reliable for other varieties of Arabic in spite of the subtitle and specific references in the text. The dictionary uses the author's own very elaborate transcription, which is somewhat difficult to become accustomed to since it includes a number of very unusual and rarely used symbols. The dictionary is very comprehensive, however, and phrases, proverbs, and the like are frequently included under the entries.

There are two useful vocabularies for English speakers. One is an anonymous adaptation of Meyer's Sprachführer called simply English-Arabic Conversational Dictionary. It gives both "Syrian" and Egyptian equivalents, of which the Syrian seems to be some variety of Lebanese. It also contains many useful notes and a brief Arabic-English section. It is published in London as a pocket-size dictionary but it is much superior to the usual dictionaries of this kind. It is still in print and readily available, but unfortunately it is now far out of date especially for modern city life in the Arab world, since, for example, it is pre-independence and pre-automobile. Another useful vocabulary, also somewhat dated, is found in Crow's Manual (1901). This book is of little use otherwise as a textbook, but the vocabulary is fairly extensive. The language is Lebanese Arabic of Shwayfat. The book in any case seems to be out of print now. A German-Arabic vocabulary for the dialect of Damascus is found in Kuhnt's Syrisch-arabischer Sprachführer (1958), which also contains a brief account of pronunciation and grammar. In spite of typographical and editorial errors, this may be of considerable use.

Bauer's Wörterbuch (1933), recently published in a new edition (1957), is based primarily but not exclusively on the Arabic of Jerusalem. It is carefully done and quite reliable, its German entries very numerous and well chosen, but it is smaller in scope than Barthélemy's dictionary, and is only German-Arabic.

One other lexical study should also be mentioned. It is Almqvist's Beiträge (1891). This is a valuable contribution to Syrian Arabic lexicography but is of little general use; it is devoted chiefly to terms connected with clothing and sewing. The dialect is that of Damascus.

Since the war only two new lexical studies have been published, so far as I know. The small dictionary of Damascus Arabic (1952) compiled by Copeland and Mahon and published privately by them is a very useful work, although fairly limited in scope; it excludes words of non-verbal roots and has no illustrative phrases. The other, Frayha's dictionary of non-Classical words current in spoken Lebanese Arabic (1947), is very well done and quite reliable, but its usefulness for the general student of Syrian Arabic is severely limited by the exclusion of current words which happen to be Classical, and by the fact that the whole book is written in Classical Arabic, including the definitions of the words.

Descriptive Studies

Of the numerous articles and books published before the war describing or commenting on the Arabic of specific localities in the Syrian area, five are particularly good and still furnish the solid basis for modern studies. They are listed here in chronological order by author, date, and locality of the Arabic described; further comments are given below the list.

Bauer, 1913	Jerusalem
Feghali, 1919	Kfar ^{c}Abida (Lebanon)
Bergsträsser, 1924	Damascus
Driver, 1925	Jerusalem
Cantineau, 1934	Palmyra

Of these, Bergsträsser's study, which consists only of the phonology and a collection of texts, is the briefest, but it shows the highest degree of linguistic sophistication and the greatest precision in detail. Bauer's book presents two dialects simultaneously - that of the educated population of Jerusalem, and that of the peasants to the south, west, and north of Jerusalem. Material on the "peasant" dialect is always kept separate by marking it with a special sign. Driver's book contains much useful material, including a chapter on syntax, which is the only treatment of this important aspect of the language in these five studies.[2] Cantineau's book is particularly good in the amount of background information it provides about the history and present socio-economic organization of Palmyra and about the interesting linguistic situation of competing dialects within the town. Feghali's monograph has the benefit of being written by a native speaker of the dialect being described, and is of special interest because it describes a kind of Arabic different in many respects from that treated in the other five studies.

In addition to these basic works there are studies of varying size and quality on many points in the area, in some cases amounting only to a brief sketch. These studies are often of considerable value because they offer data on the Arabic of various localities not otherwise treated. The present bibliographical article is not the place for an exhaustive listing of these, but several of the more interesting ones are given below.

Cantineau, 1938	Horan Druze
Christie, 1901	Galillee
Mattsson, 1910	Beirut, Bhamdun (Lebanon)
Pourrière, 1901	Aleppo

Cantineau's study was a by-product of his work in the villages of the Horan discussed below (1946). It provides a good, brief account of the dialect used by the Druzes in the Horan and Jabal al-Druz area. Christie's article consists of twelve brief texts from ten villages in central Galilee together with some grammatical observations and a description of the population, with a map. Although the work is not completely reliable, and in spite of the poor quality of the grammatical material, the study remains of value. Mattsson's monograph is a careful phonetic study of Lebanese Arabic, chiefly that of Bhamdun, and contains a number of acute observations. Father Pourrière's brief study was written in reply to a series of questions sent by George Kampffmeyer to the author, who was a native of Aleppo. Kampffmeyer added a short introduction and some bibliographical notices and explanations. The facts presented are reliable and the study is very useful, especially for lexical differences.

There is another book by Feghali deserving special mention - his Syntaxe (1928), which is the only full-length study known to me of the syntax of any Arabic dialect. It is not very well organized, but it offers a wealth of detailed information on the syntax of Lebanese Arabic, and is full of suggestive material for modern descriptive studies.

Vilenčik (1937) attempts to set up an overall pattern for the vowel phonemes of the dialects of Damascus, Palestine, and Beirut.

Since the war a number of additional descriptive studies have appeared, of which the most important are:

Cantineau, 1946	The Horan (Syria)
Fleisch, 1947-48	Zahle (Lebanon)
Blanc, 1953	Druzes in Israel
Fleisch, 1954	Lebanon
El-Hajjé, 1954	Tripoli (Lebanon)
Cantineau, 1956b	Mecherfé (Syria)
Cantineau, 1956c	Damascus

Cantineau's Horan study is outstanding. It presents data elicited from ninety-two villages in the Horan region of southern Syria. The material is well organized, the sixty maps are excellent, and the conclusions drawn from the data are important. This work is probably the most important study of Syrian Arabic.

Father Fleisch's study of Zahle Arabic is of considerable interest because it treats a locality not before studied which is completely blank on the Bergsträsser atlas. The feature of greatest interest from the theoretical linguistic point of view is the diphthongization in this dialect of two vowel phonemes before certain kinds of juncture. Although all Arabic dialects seem to show special vowel allophones before certain kinds of juncture, the phenomenon is particularly striking in Zahlawi Arabic and is documented elsewhere only for the Druze dialect described by Blanc. Fleisch's 1954 article deals with 342 verbs of the simple form in the Lebanese dialect of Maâser Beit ed-Dîn, comparing their type of voweling in the perfect and imperfect with that of corresponding verbs in Classical Arabic.

Blanc's study is of special interest also for its fresh approach to some old problems. His treatment of the phonemic status of velarization, for example, is a valuable contribution to the understanding of the structure of Arabic. In general, this is the only extensive appearance in print of a predominantly "American" kind of linguistic description of Arabic.

El-Hajjé's thesis presents the phonology and morphology of the dialect of Tripoli, with texts. The phonology is neatly presented, but there are some errors of method and many unresolved obscurities; nevertheless, this is a valuable contribution to Syrian dialectology. Cantineau's article on Damascus Arabic is a reply to Ferguson's review (1954) of his beginner's textbook for the dialect (1953 - see below).

An unpublished manuscript by Maston and Yorkey (1953) attempts an analysis of the morphology and syntax of Beirut Arabic on the basis of the approach used by Fries in his Structure of English.[3]

Textbooks

A large number, certainly several hundred, manuals for the study of spoken Syrian Arabic were published in various languages before World War II. These vary greatly in size, accuracy, and method of presentation. Many are very bad, but most are useful at least to a limited extent. The six prewar textbooks listed below were selected either because they are widely used, are exceptionally good, or are readily available.

Harfouche, 1943 (3rd ed. 1914)	Lebanon
Hassam, 1911	-----
Lemée, 1938	Damascus
Nakhla, 1937-1938	Lebanon
O'Leary, 1925	Syria, Egypt, Iraq
Seidel, (1895-1900?)	Beirut

Harfouche's Drogman arabe is a traditional introductory textbook which has been widely recommended. It has gone through numerous editions; from the fourth (1923) on, Father E. Ley's name is added to the title page. Actually this little book (pocket size) is very carelessly printed and is not so good as several of the others. One valuable section of the book is the part (pp. 399-436) entitled "Arabismes et proverbes". Also, it is worth noting that the editions since 1923 are unchanged, and as a result much of the content is out of date.

Hassam's manual is in the Marlborough "Self-Taught" series. It is the poorest of the six textbooks listed. The Arabic in it is neither Classical nor colloquial, the sentences included in the conversations are completely unnatural, and the grammatical sketch is merely a condensed presentation of some of the traditional principles of Classical Arabic grammar. The book could hardly be used for serious study of Syrian Arabic either with a teacher or "self-taught". Finally, its reprintings (now the fifteenth) have not brought it up to date; for example, the monetary units given in it are still the Turkish ones which were in use in Syria before World War I.

Captain Lemée's book is a practical manual which could be used to advantage with a good teacher. The transcription used is unusual in its choice of symbols but is practical and can be mastered easily. Considerable space is devoted to verb forms, for which the author offers an original classification. There are a number of inaccuracies and misprints.

Father Nakhla's grammar is very good. It is well arranged, the language material is reliable, the forms are carefully described, the statements of usage are quite accurate, and the vocabulary is well chosen. It is one of the best printed textbooks now available for Syrian Arabic. Although the language described is presented as "la langue parlée par la presque totalité des habitants du Liban et de la Syrie", the actual forms are a kind of generalized Lebanese, and the comments occasionally made about variations in pronunciation throughout the Syrian area are not always accurate.

O'Leary's manual, which has been reprinted numerous times and is probably the most widely available textbook in English, attempts to cover Syrian, Egyptian, and Iraqi dialects, and even has a note on Algerian Arabic as an appendix. It actually fails to represent any of these dialects accurately, has numerous errors of transcription and fact, and even changes its transcription system in the course of the book without explanation or apology. It is at any rate much superior to Hassam.

Seidel's manual is in the Hartleben series and is modelled on the author's manual of Egyptian Arabic. It is based on published studies and written inquiries to people in the area, but in spite of this second-hand nature of its data, it is a good book. There may be later editions I have not seen.

During the war and in the postwar period there has been great activity in the preparation of instructional materials for spoken Arabic dialects. Most of these materials, however, have been mimeographed or reproduced piecemeal by one process or another; very few have appeared as published books. The two chief centers of this activity have been the Foreign Service Institute in Washington, D.C., and the training divisions of the Arabian American Oil Company and its affiliates.[4] Courses in Syrian Arabic have also been prepared under the auspices of the Iraq Petroleum Company, the Institute of Languages and Linguistics of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and other institutions. In addition to these materials, textbooks have also been produced by various individuals in America, France, and Lebanon. Textbooks of Syrian Arabic which have appeared since 1943 include those listed below in alphabetical order by author.

Akhal, 1953	Lebanon
d'Alvernys, 1950	Lebanon
Ben Zeev, 1949, 1951	Palestine
Cantineau, 1953	Damascus
Craig, 1956	"General Syrian"
Ferguson, 1947-1948	Lebanon
Ferguson, 1961	Damascus
Frayha, 1953	Ras el-Matn (Lebanon)
Kapliwatzky, 1941-1944	Palestine
Lator, 1953	Lebanon
Rabin, 1940	"Cities of Syria and Palestine"
Rice and Sa'id, 1960	Palestine, Syria, Lebanon
Sommerville, 1950-1952	Lebanon
Van Wagoner, 1953	Lebanon

These vary considerably in methods and content, but all present with some degree of reliability the actual spoken Arabic of the area. Those by Cantineau, Ferguson, Rice-Sa'id, and Van Wagoner employ . transcriptions in Roman letters based explicitly on a prior phonemic analysis of the particular dialect. The two in Hebrew, Ben Zeev and Kapliwatzky, use Hebrew letters with diacritical marks. The others use Roman letters in various more or less systematic ways.

The best of these textbooks from the point of view of general pedagogical usefulness is undoubtedly that of Rice and Sa'id. It consists of thirty "Units" somewhat like those of the Spoken Language Series now published by Henry Holt and Company. Each unit contains a set of "pattern sentences" to be memorized, a set of "structure sentences" to serve as a basis for grammatical drill, and grammatical explanations. In addition to the Units proper there are an introduction on the sounds and Arabic-English and English-Arabic vocabularies.

Ferguson's Spoken Lebanese Arabic is a course based quite completely on the system used in the Holt series. It is a useful course, and was once reproduced for use at the Army Language School in Monterey. The Damascus Arabic is similar but more carefully done, and with a more elaborate grammatical apparatus than is found in any other of these textbooks.

The Aramco manual, which is copyrighted by Tapline and should be made more widely available, was devised for oil company employees and is very practical, with well chosen vocabulary items and simple grammatical explanations. It lacks a glossary. At present it consists of thirteen Units, but it is planned eventually to have twenty Units.

Rabin's manual is a very useful collection of conversations chiefly in a normalized "city Arabic" which represents no one locality, but with other varieties of Arabic occasionally represented; it also contains a brief grammatical sketch. Frayha's Essentials is devoted primarily to Classical Arabic but has a twenty-page section on colloquial, which sketches the structure of a strongly normalized Lebanese Arabic, and an English-Arabic vocabulary of this. Craig's mimeographed lessons are a Palestinian or Syrian version of Gairdner's Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (see bibliography of Egyptian Arabic), competently done.

Turning to those in French, Lator's pamphlet is modeled on the "Assimil" method; it is probably the most attractively presented of the textbooks, and is going to be adapted for the use of English-speakers. Cantineau's manual is a very good textbook, designed for an elementary course at the university level; it contains some errors in the grammatical explanations and lacks a vocabulary.

Collections of Texts

Relatively little material has been published in colloquial Arabic since some form of Classical Arabic is almost universally used in written works. A certain amount of poetry, songs, humorous anecdotes, and political cartoons, however, regularly appears in Syrian Arabic, and dramas and even short novels have been published in the dialect. This literature was treated in some detail by Lecerf[5] in 1932-33, but there is now a need for a new study bringing the situation up to date.

The books listed below are collections of texts published not primarily as works of literature but because of their linguistic, folkloric, or general ethnological interest. No attempt has been made to include all the articles in various journals giving brief individual texts or groups of texts, and I have deliberately excluded proverb collections, since these have been listed elsewhere.[6]

Dalman, 1901	Palestine, folk poetry
Littmann, 1902	Jerusalem, folk poetry
Littmann, 1905	Jerusalem, folk tales
Mattsson, 1912-1914	Lebanon, folk tale
Schmidt, 1918, 1930	Bir Zet (Palestine), folk tales
Saarisalo, 1932	Druzes, folk songs
Feghali, 1933	Lebanon, miscellaneous texts
Feghali, 1935	Lebanon, miscellaneous texts
Dietrich, 1956	Damascus, anecdotes

The two volumes of folk poetry are of value as pioneer ventures, and may still be consulted with benefit. The Schmidt and Kahle collection consists of sixty-four folktales gathered by Schmidt in the village of Bir Zet in 1910-1911. They were transcribed and translated in the first instance by Dschirius Jusif, a native of Bir Zet, and then the work was reviewed in detail by the two authors - Schmidt primarily for folkloric analysis of motifs, etc., and Kahle for linguistic analysis. Each of the two volumes has a glossary; Volume I also has a subject and name index and an outline of the grammar of the dialect represented in the texts. Littmann's Tales (1905) is in Arabic script only, with no vocabulary or notes; they were written down by an Arab of Jerusalem. Mattsson gives a lengthy text in Lebanese dialect with full annotation and commentary.

Saarisalo's songs are not very carefully edited from a linguistic point of view, and include many non-Druze songs. The two volumes of Feghali are parts of a collection of texts made by him, or in some cases sent to him by friends, before 1930. Originally planned as a unified two-volume work, the texts appeared piecemeal, some in an article in the Journal Asiatique (1927), a larger share in the two volumes listed here, and some elsewhere; some texts remain unpublished on deposit with the library of the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris. These texts are excellent, full of important ethnological and linguistic data. The only important criticism which can be made is the failure to indicate in each case the provenience of the text. Dietrich's article gives transcriptions of "funny stories" with literary analysis and some linguistic commentary.

Semenov's reader (1929) contains selections from previously published sources, some in Arabic script, some in Cyrillic transcription, and includes a vocabulary.

NOTES

1. See especially "Conclusion", pp. 412-25.
2. But see Feghali's Syntaxe (1928), discussed below.
3. Charles C. Fries, The Structure of English (New York, 1953).
4. For an account of the Arabic language activities of these two organizations, see R.A.C. Goodison, "Arabic Teaching Materials - Aramco and the Foreign Service Institute", Report on Current Research on the Middle East, Spring 1957, pp. 57-67 (Washington, 1957).
5. J. Lecerf, "Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne", Bulletin d'études orientales 2.179-258 (1932); 3.43-175 (1933). Also published separately, Paris, 1933.
6. C.A. Ferguson and J.M. Echols, "Critical Bibliography of Spoken Arabic Proverb Literature", Journal of American Folklore 65.67-84 (1952). One important collection of Syrian proverbs that has appeared since this article is Anis Frayha, Modern Lebanese Proverbs, Beirut, 1953.

LIST OF TITLES

This list includes some items that were not available to us for consultation and are therefore not mentioned in the body of this article.

Akhal, Mahmoud, 1953. *Notes on Spoken Arabic in Lebanon*. Beirut. [Mimeographed]

Almqvist, Herman, 1891. "Kleine Beiträge zur Lexikographie des Vulgärarabischen". *VIII Congrès intern. des orientalistes, Sect. sém*. Leiden.

d'Alvernys, André, 1950. *Petite introduction au parler libanais*. Bikfaya (Lebanon). [Available at Librairie Orientale, Beirut]

Barthélemy, A., 1935-1954. *Dictionnaire arabe-français (Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem)*. 5 fascicles. Paris.

Bauer, L., 1913. *Das palästinische Arabisch: Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen*. 3rd edition. Leipzig.

-----, 1933. *Wörterbuch des palästinischen Arabisch (Deutsch-Arabisch)*. Leipzig and Jerusalem.

-----, 1957. *Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch der Umgangssprache in Palästina und im Libanon*. Unter Mitwirkung von Anton Spitaler. 2. Auflage. Wiesbaden.

Ben Zeev, Yisrael, 1949-1951. *Haaravit hameduberet*. 2 volumes. Jerusalem.

Bergsträsser, G., 1915. *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina*. Leipzig. [Also in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 38.169-122 (1915)]

-----, 1921. *Zum arabischen Dialekt von Damaskus*. Hannover.

Berlitz, 1937. *'Uslūb li-ta^{c}līm al-luġah l-^{c}arabīyah*.

Blanc, Haim, 1953. *Studies in North Palestinian Arabic: Linguistic Inquiries among the Druzes of Western Galilee and Mt. Carmel*. Oriental Notes and Studies, Israel Oriental Society, No. 4. Jerusalem.

Blau, Joshua, 1958. "Relative Clauses in the Peasant Dialect of Bir Zeit". [in Hebrew] *I. Goldziher Memorial* 2.119-129.

Cantineau, J., 1934. *Le dialecte arabe de Palmyre*. Mém. de l'Institut Français de Damas. 2 volumes. Beirut.

-----, 1938. "Le parler des Drûz de la montagne Hōrânaise". *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales* 4.157-184.

-----, 1939. "Remarques sur les parlers de sédentaires syro-libano-palestiniens". *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 40.80-88.

-----, 1946. *Les parlers arabes du Hōrân*. Collection Linguistique, Société de Linguistique de Paris 52. With atlas of 60 maps. Paris.

-----, and Y. Helbaoui, 1953. *Manuel élémentaire d'arabe orientale (parler de Damas)*. Paris.

-----, 1956a. "Notes sur les parlers arabes des oasis syriennes: Qarītēn, Palmyre, Soukhné". *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* pp. 120-131. Rome.

-----, 1956b. "Notes sur le parler arabe de Mecherfé". *Mélanges Louis Massignon* 1.305-314. Damascus.

-----, 1956c. "The Phonemic System of Damascus Arabic". *Word* 12.116-124.

Christie, W., 1901. "Der Dialekt der Landbevölkerung des mittleren Galiläa". *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 24.69-112.

Copeland, Miles A. Jr., and Robert C. Mahon, 1952. *Colloquial Damascene Arabic Dictionary*. Washington.

Craig, A.J.M., 1956. *A Conversation Grammar of Colloquial Arabic*. Shemlan (Lebanon). [Mimeographed]

Crow, F.E., 1901. *Arabic Manual: A Colloquial Handbook in the Syrian Dialect*. London.

Dalman, Gustav, 1901. *Palästinischer Diwan*. Leipzig.

Dietrich, Albert, 1956. "Damaszener Schwänke". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 106.316-344.

Driver, G.R.A., 1925. *A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine*. London.

El-Hajjé, Hassan, 1954. *Le parler arabe de Tripoli (Liban)*. Paris.

English-Arabic Conversational Dictionary: With a Grammar, a Collection of Phrases and an Arabic-English Vocabulary, n.d. London.

Feghali, Michel, 1919. *Le parler arabe de Kfar ^{c}Abîda; essai linguistique sur la phonétique et la morphologie d'un parler arabe moderne*. Paris.

-----, 1928. Syntaxe des parlers arabes actuels du Liban. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes 9. Paris.

-----, 1933. Textes libanais. Paris.

-----, 1935. Contes, légendes, coutumes populaires du Liban et de Syrie: Texte arabe, transcription, traduction, et notes. Paris.

Ferguson, Charles A., 1947-1948. Spoken Lebanese Arabic. Washington. [Mimeographed]

-----, 1954. Review of Cantineau 1953. Language 30.564-570.

-----, with Moukhtar Ani and others, 1961. Damascus Arabic. Washington. [Available from the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington]

Fleisch, H., 1947-1948. "Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Zahlé". Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph 27.74-116.

-----, 1954. "La première forme du verbe arabe dans un parler libanais (Maâser Beit ed-Dîn)". Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph 31.287-313.

-----, 1959. "Premiers résultats d'une enquête dialectale au Liban". Orbis 8.385-399.

Frayha, Anis, 1947. A Dictionary of Non-Classical Vocables in the Spoken Arabic of Lebanon [in Arabic with Arabic and English title pages and introductions]. American University of Beirut, Faculty of Arts and Sciences Oriental Series, No. 19. Beirut.

-----, 1953. Essentials of Arabic: A Manual for Teaching Classical and Colloquial Arabic. Beirut. [Available from Khayat's College Book Cooperative, 32 and 34 Rue Bliss, Beirut]

Harfouche, Joseph, 1943. Le drogman arabe; guide pratique de l'arabe parlé pour la Syrie, la Palestine et l'Egypte. 6th edition. Beirut.

Hassam, A., 1911. Arabic Self-Taught (Syria) with English Phonetic Pronunciation. 5th edition revised and enlarged by N. Odeh. London.

Kapliwatsky, Jochanan, 1941-1944. Palestinian Colloquial Arabic [in Hebrew with title pages also in Arabic and English]. 2 volumes. Jerusalem. [In print]

Kračkovskij, I.J., 1926. "Dve arabskie skazki iz Nazareta". Soobščenija Rossijskogo palestinskogo obščestva 29.28-41.

Kuhnt, Eberhard, 1958. Syrisch-arabischer Sprachführer. Wiesbaden.

Lator, E., 1953. *Parlez-vous arabe? Arabe libano-syrien*. Beirut.

Lemée, F., 1938. *Cours élémentaire d'arabe parlé syrien; éléments de grammaire, exercices d'application, exercices de conversation*. Damascus.

Linder, Sven, 1952, 1955. *Palästinische Volksgesänge*. 2 volumes. Uppsala Univ. Arsskrift 1952, 5; 1955, 9. Uppsala and Wiesbaden.

Littmann, Enno, 1902. *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*. Berlin.

-----, 1905. *Modern Arabic Tales*. Publications of an American Archeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, Part VI, Vol. I. Leiden.

Maston, Robert Edward, and Richard Yorkey, 1953. *Morphology and Syntax of Colloquial Beirut Arabic*. Ann Arbor. [Typescript]

Mattsson, Emmanuel, 1910. *Etudes phonologiques sur le dialecte arabe vulgaire de Beyrouth*. Uppsala.

-----, 1912-1914. "Ṭūlit il-^{c}umr: Texte arabe vulgaire transcrit et traduit avec introduction, notes, et commentaire". *Le monde oriental* 6.81-117, 206-231; 8.16-57, 92-115.

Nahmad, H.M., and C. Rabin, 1940. *Everyday Arabic: Conversations in Syrian and Palestinian Colloquial Arabic with Vocabulary: Phonetic and Grammatical Introduction: Lists of Useful Culinary, Military, Political and Commercial Terms*. Philadelphia. [In print]

Nakhla, Raphael, 1937-1938. *Grammaire du dialecte libano-syrien (phonétique, morphologie et syntax)*. 2 volumes. Beirut.

O'Leary, DeLacy, 1925. *Colloquial Arabic*. London.

Piamenta, Moshe, 1958. *The Use of the Imperfect (Without b-) in the Arabic Dialect of Jerusalem* [in Hebrew, with English and Hebrew title page and introduction]. Jerusalem. [Mimeographed. Chapter from a thesis entitled *The Use of the Tenses, Aspects and Moods in the Arabic Dialect of Jerusalem*]

Pourrière, Leon, 1901. "Etude sur la langue vulgaire d'Alep". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, 2.abt*. 4.202-227.

Rice, Frank A., and Majed F. Sa'id, 1960. *Eastern Arabic: An Introduction to the Spoken Arabic of Palestine, Syria and Lebanon*. Beirut. [Available from Khayat's, Beirut] [Revision of *Jerusalem Arabic* (Washington, 1953)]

Saarisalo, A., 1932. *Songs of the Druzes*. Helsinki.

Schmidt, Hans, and Paul Kahle, 1918, 1930. *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Folge, Heft 17, 18. Göttingen.

Seidel, August, n.d. *Praktisches Lehrbuch der arabischen Umgangssprache syrischen Dialekts*. Vienna.

Semenov, D.V., 1929. *Xrestomatija razgovornogo arabskogo jazyka (sirijskoe narečie)*. Leningrad.

Sommerville, James, 1950. *Intermediate Colloquial Arabic Course for IPC Personnel (Covenanted): Lebanese, Syrian and Jordanian Version*. Beirut. [Mimeographed]

-----, 1952. *Preparatory Colloquial Arabic Course for Covenanted Expatriate IPC Personnel*. Beirut. [Mimeographed]

Stephan, S.H., 1935. *Leitfaden für den Selbstunterricht in der arabischen Sprache*. Jerusalem.

Van Wagoner, M.Y., with Munah F. Dabaghi and Joseph T. Kiameh. *Introduction to Spoken Arabic of Lebanon: Manual for Use in Connection with Auditory and Oral Training in Colloquial Arabic with Aid of Arabic Speaking Teacher or Recordings*. Sidon (Lebanon).

Vilenčik, J.S., 1927. "Drevnearabskie kontekstnye formy v narodnom jazyke sirijskogo dialekta". *Zapiski Kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom muzee Rossijskoj Akademii nauk* 2.249-265.

-----, 1927-1929. "Studien zur historischen phonetik der vulgärarabischen Dialekte" [partly in Russian]. *Doklady Akademii nauk SSSR, Serija B* 1927.1-6, 157-161; 1928.261-264; 1929.219-222, 328-329.

-----, 1930. "Syro-arabische Studien". *Doklady Akademii nauk SSSR, Serija B* 1930.105-108.

-----, 1937. "Sistema glasnyx v narodno-arabskom jazyke gorožan Sirii i Palestiny". *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija Akademii nauk SSSR* 6.133-140.

Egyptian Arabic Studies by Richard S. Harrell

Introduction

No fully satisfactory analysis of colloquial Egyptian Arabic has been done. The real answer to the needs of the student and/or researcher is research, not bibliography. However, a review of the material available should prove helpful, both to the professional linguist and to the layman.

By "colloquial Egyptian Arabic" is meant specifically the speech of the sedentary population of the lower Nile valley. Practically, this means a limitation to the delta, since little work has been done on the speech of Upper Egypt. Even for the delta area, almost all work is based on the speech of Cairo. Bedouin speech has not been considered.

The number of works devoted to Egyptian Arabic is not large compared to the bibliographies of many languages. Syrian Arabic, for example, has had more material devoted to it. Unfortunately, of the limited number of Egyptian Arabic studies, many are of poor quality. The list that follows is correspondingly selective.

General and Comparative Studies

General historical studies are almost non-existent. I know only one of pertinent interest: Harris Birkeland, Growth and Structure of the Egyptian Arabic Dialect (1952). Birkeland's work is little more than a brief sketch, devoted mainly to the thesis that the vocabulary of modern Egyptian developed from pausal forms of the koine. I am not personally competent to pass on the quality of his historical conclusions; in any event this little book is really more a program than a full exposition. The descriptive comments on the phonology of modern Egyptian are too incomplete to be convincing. Apart from this one general historical study, we might note that the rather specialized topic of Coptic influence on

Egyptian Arabic has received considerable attention in the past few years, being the subject of an article by Petráček (1956) and a thesis and an article by Bishai (1959, 1960).

Contrastive studies of American English and Egyptian phonology, written from a pedagogical viewpoint, have also become available now. Lehn and Slager's sketch (1959) dealing with the segmental phonemes of the two languages is practical, but short on detail. Kennedy's *Problems of Americans in Mastering the Pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic* (1960) is methodologically sound and contains just enough information to make it optimally useful to most teachers. Finally, Khalafallah's thesis, *Some Phonological Problems Involved in the Learning of English by Native Speakers of Sa^{c}idi Colloquial Egyptian Arabic* (1959) is most significant as being the only descriptive treatment of the Sa^{c}idi dialect.

Sultanov's article (1955) on the formation of a national language in Egypt provides interesting material on a subject not much discussed in the west.

Dictionaries

There must be at least a hundred dictionaries of "colloquial" Egyptian Arabic in various languages. Most of them are of little value. The most general fault of these dictionaries is a failure to distinguish clearly between colloquial speech and the literary language; this distinction is a vital one for all Arabic dialects. There follows commentary on three works.

Spiro's dictionaries (1923, 1929) are the most well known, and the best. The English-Arabic volume inconsistently uses the symbol *y* for both long *i* and consonant *y*. A greater fault is that necessary grammatical information such as the imperfect of the verbs is not given. The Arabic-English volume is arranged in alphabetical order according to the Arabic alphabet. Transcription is given only for the item of entry, not for any of the derivations cited. This can be confusing to any one who does not already know Egyptian very thoroughly indeed. One helpful feature, though, is that noun and adjective derivatives of the verbal roots are listed alphabetically as separate words. These books have rendered valuable service since they first came out in the 1890's; a new edition of both would be a happy event.

After Spiro, there is Edward E. Elias's Practical Dictionary (1949). The vocabulary is not purely Egyptian, and to worsen matters there is no consistent labeling of what is Egyptian, what Syrian, etc. Other faults are that the Latin transcription (Arabic characters are not used) is neither overly good nor overly consistent, and the introductory guide to pronunciation is guilty of phonetic naïveté. But the book has many practical advantages; it is readily available, it is genuinely colloquial in material, and its size makes it easy to carry about in one's daily wanderings. The author found it a tower of strength during his stay in Egypt; almost never did it fail to yield a needed word. The cost is only thirty-five Egyptian piastres.

Athanasius' Medical Phrasebook (1954) should be of great value to a physician in Egypt. In addition to extensive, topically arranged word lists, there are model dialogues covering a wide range of doctor-patient relationships. This reviewer is in no position to judge the accuracy of a medical vocabulary in Arabic, English, or any other language, but the book seems to have been quite thoroughly and carefully done.

Descriptive Studies

We are fortunate in having two first-class descriptive grammars of Egyptian Arabic. We are doubly fortunate that they were written with different aims and thus complement rather than repeat each other. Spitta's Grammatik (1880) is written from the viewpoint of the professional Arabist. It presupposes a knowledge of Classical Arabic and consistently draws parallels between the classical and the colloquial. It is purely descriptive and comparative and makes no pedagogical concessions. The beginner, therefore, is likely to find it quite unintelligible. But I know of few grammars of any language which are more carefully and honestly written. The faults of the book are almost entirely the faults of the age in which it was written; there is no mention of prosodic features such as juncture and intonation, and no clear line is drawn between phonemics and phonetics. Beyond this, the book is well observed and comprehensive. Spitta's preface also provides an accurate model of how objectively linguistic research should be conducted. Another source of satisfaction for the reader is that the book has a meticulously thorough table of contents. An article by Karl Vollers (1887) includes a complete review of Spitta's Grammatik.

Willmore's Spoken Arabic (1905) is entirely descriptive, presupposes no knowledge of Arabic, and makes no use of the Arabic script. The discussion of the phonology is less convincing than Spitta's, although obviously based on a thorough familiarity with the realities of Egyptian Arabic pronunciation. The sections on grammar and syntax are written with a minuteness of detail and fullness of illustrative examples that surpass even Spitta. Such excellence leaves the reader the more disappointed that the book has no table of contents and an insufficiently detailed index. The book also has a pedagogical aspect. Each section is accompanied by a vocabulary and exercises. Some of the exercise material is impractical, with such sentences as "The shoemaker, who was in the garden yesterday, is taller than the fruiterer who brought the apples and the pears to the house". (Of course, they're not all this bad!) The second and third editions have full glossaries for the exercises and a key to the exercises on syntax. Despite its various difficulties, the book is a valuable one to have, and the student should find it useful, especially if he has an Egyptian to help him. Two final comments: Firstly, Willmore's Handbook (1927), an abridgement for pedagogical purposes, should not be confused with the full grammar. Secondly, Guest's review (1902) of Willmore should be read only in conjunction with Willmore's rebuttal in the preface to the second edition. Some of Guest's criticisms are well taken, but many are picayune and superficial.

In addition to these two grammars, there are now many special studies. The best known is Gairdner's Phonetics (1925). This work is primarily a consideration of the pronunciation of Classical Arabic with appended comments on the Egyptian colloquial. Considering the amount of labor lavished upon it, the book is disappointing. There are numerous errors of detail, both of commission and omission, and some of the impressionistic, metaphorical descriptions of sounds are unacceptable from the point of view of current linguistic knowledge.

For example: p. 40, "When i: or i is preceded by a velarized consonant there is no perceptible modification of the vowel..." Perhaps this was so for the speaker with whom Gairdner was working (although I doubt even that, since Spitta notes a vowel modification as far back as 1882); it is certainly not so for present day Egyptian Arabic. Again, compare his description of the ^{c}*ayn*, pp. 28-29, with the cool, clear factuality of Wallin (1855-58, pp. 42-44), written seventy-five years earlier. This reviewer must reluctantly conclude that Gairdner's *Phonetics* does not fully live up to its great reputation. However, it has served the function of giving many western linguists a valuable knowledge of Arabic pronunciation, which they might otherwise have missed.

Harrell's *Phonology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic* (1957) is the only attempt at a complete treatment of the subject, written from a modern linguistic viewpoint. In spite of some errors of detail and inconsistency of treatment, this is the most useful book in the field. Abdallah's unpublished thesis on Egyptian intonation (1960), also a "modern" treatment, is a pioneering experiment in the use of the sound spectrograph for research on intonation and is probably too technical for the reader whose main interest is the Egyptian Arabic dialect itself.

There are also some articles on Egyptian phonology that deserve mention. Prime among them is G.A. Wallin, "Ueber die Laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung" (1855, 1858), mentioned above. While it is not especially devoted to the Egyptian dialect, this article repays reading. It is a refreshing example of careful, scholarly sobriety. The reader has already been invited to compare Wallin with Gairdner. Lane's article, "Ueber die Aussprache der arabischen Vocale und die Betonung der arabischen Woerter" (1850), is based mainly on the Egyptian dialect; it is inferior to Wallin's, both in clarity and in accuracy of observation. Spitta's later critique (in the preface of the *Grammatik*) of Lane, that his "English ear" deceived him in hearing the sounds of Arabic, is quite just.

Among recent articles, Nyberg's on the pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic (1937) is unfortunate. For reasons too technical to be gone into here, this author cannot accept the accuracy of Nyberg's observations on stress, vowel length, and gemination in Egyptian Arabic.

Mitchell's article on "Prominence and Syllabication in Arabic" (1960) devotes some pages (375-378) to Egyptian colloquial.

In the field of Egyptian morphology we now have a substantial number of theses, all unpublished, done in the American linguistic tradition by native speakers: Aboul-Fetouh (1959), Gamal-Eldin (1959), Ghaly (1960), Helmy-Hassan (1960).

In addition to the above mentioned works, I know of several theses on various aspects of colloquial Egyptian Arabic, done by Egyptian students under Professor J.R. Firth at the School of Oriental Studies, London University. Unfortunately, I have not had an opportunity to see these: Anis (1941), Ayoub (1949), Bishr (1952), Dawood (1949), Kamel (1953).

Textbooks

Of the many textbooks, guides, handbooks, and "traveler's companions" that have appeared, there are only a few that can be recommended. One recent one is T.F. Mitchell, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (1956). This book is so far superior to all other textbooks that have appeared to date that the student should settle for no other if at all possible. It contains a serviceable phonological description and an excellent Latin-character transcription. Moreover - rarity of rarities - the author shows pedagogical good sense. The lessons are simply presented and carefully graded, both as to grammatical content and as to vocabulary.

The Linguaphone course (Heyworth-Dunne) consists of four parts: (1) a case of sixteen double faced 78rpm phonograph records containing model conversations, (2) the text of the conversations in Arabic script, (3) a text in French, (4) a text in English. The text in Arabic script has a brief introductory description, in French, of the Arabic alphabet. The French text contains a transcription of the conversations in Latin characters, a literal French translation of the conversation, and, finally, a free translation into French. Unfortunately, the transliteration is poor and often grossly misrepresents the pronunciation. In addition, the text sometimes differs from the records. The English text has both literal and free translations of the conversations, but not the transliterated Arabic. Both

English and French texts contain brief descriptions of pronunciation. Neither text attempts grammatical exposition.

The sketchiness of overt explanation in the texts is deliberate and in line with the basic idea of the course, which emphasizes the oral-aural approach. The heart of the course is the records. Considering the limits imposed by a playing time of approximately ninety minutes, the conversations cover a wide range of subjects. Anyone who masters these model conversations will have acquired a very good foundation in Egyptian Arabic. Acoustic fidelity of the records is not consistent. Some lessons come out quite clearly, others are fuzzy. Of commonly available materials, the best tool for learning Egyptian colloquial would be a combination of Linguaphone and Mitchell's textbook - with the services of a native speaker.

Tewfik and Harrell's Lessons in Colloquial Egyptian Arabic (1957) is a mimeographed textbook, not easily available, designed for an intensive, oral-aural approach course.

Munzel's Ägyptisch-arabischer Sprachführer (1958) is not a textbook, but is a very useful traveler's guide, containing some grammatical notes and a good, up-to-date German-Egyptian vocabulary with adequate transcription and indications of noun plurals and verb inflections.

It is an ungracious task to have to subject Gairdner's famous Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (1917) to criticism. This book has done valuable service since it first appeared; it has become almost a tradition at the American University in Cairo, and its use there has contributed greatly to popularizing and dignifying the study of the colloquial language. This reviewer pronounces his adverse judgment regretfully. The transcription used is poor; the vocabulary and conversational material are impractical and poorly arranged; and - finally - the book is designed for use with a native speaker; the combination of these factors leaves the solitary student effectively devastated. In addition to these drawbacks, Gairdner's work by now has a distinctly old-fashioned flavor. If the student wishes to use this work, he should pay attention to the different editions. The third edition, revised by E.E. Elder, is a mere shadow of the original book (102 pp. v. 300 pp.). The first edition is better in every respect. It has a greater wealth of illustrative material, more detailed explanations, and is better printed into the bargain.

Nallino's manual (1913), like most of the other textbooks available, is poor in its phonological explanations. For a language with a phonology so radically different from European languages, this is a crucial failing in a book directed to Westerners. Also, the vocabulary and dialogues have been rendered obsolete to some extent by the enormous social and material changes in Egypt since the work was published. Despite these failings, the student might still find the book useful, especially if he has an Egyptian to help him with the pronunciation. Vollers' *Lehrbuch* (1890), although not bad, has nothing outstanding to recommend it except that it was one of the earliest serious attempts at a pedagogical grammar of Egyptian colloquial.

Other books are worth much less than the ones mentioned. The dialect mixture of O'Leary's *Colloquial Arabic* (1925) should be avoided. Also to be avoided are Green's *Practical Arabic Grammar* (1887, 1893) and Phillott and Powell's *Manual of Egyptian Arabic* (1926), which are mentioned only because they are so frequently met with. These books commit the standard fault of confusing the official written language and colloquial speech. A student of the colloquial will be misled by these works, and a student of the classical is advised to turn to a standard classical grammar.

It would not be fair to pass on to the next section without mentioning the versatile Daniel Willard Fiske. Mr. Fiske wrote such varied things as *Chess in Iceland*, "A bibliography of the Dante collection of the library of Cornell University", and *Agrûmyja maṣry maktûba bil lisân el maṣry*. This last work is a primer for native speakers of Egyptian Arabic, written in Latin characters with the transcription system of Spitta. For a brief history of Fiske's one-man crusade to make colloquial Egyptian a written language (in Latin characters, of course) and simultaneously teach all the people of Egypt to read and write, the readers should consult the preface of Nallino's grammar. Two of Fiske's works (1904a, 1904b) are listed in the final bibliography attached to this study; for those interested in pursuing this fascinating bit of sociolinguistic history further, Harvard's Widener Library and the New York Public Library have a number of his works, plus a fair sized collection of the pamphlets, cards, letters, etc. which he had printed for propaganda purposes.

Collections of Texts

All collections of texts available are subject to the same grim question: How truly colloquial is the material presented? This reviewer has a suspicion that a truly colloquial collection of texts is possible only with a concealed recording machine and a speaker who isn't aware that he is being recorded. These conditions are hard to come by; in the past they were impossible. These limitations should be kept in mind when one is considering collections of texts. Only edited texts have been considered here. No attempt has been made to cover literary productions in the colloquial.

The two best collections are Spitta's Contes arabes modernes (1883) and Elder's Egyptian Colloquial Arabic Reader (1927). Spitta's is the better; unfortunately, his glossary is given in Arabic script, although the texts are given in the transcription described in the Grammatik; on the whole it is quite satisfactory. The texts are accompanied by translations. Elder's book offers some new material and some repetitions from Spitta. The transcription employed is that of Gairdner. Elder excuses himself from the task of presenting his reader with a glossary by referring to Spiro's dictionary. Also, there are no translations.

The only other extensive collections of texts are given in Arabic characters without vowel signs or transcription, and often without translations. The lack of vowel signs robs a colloquial text of all value except for vocabulary items. The collections of Al-Alati (1889-1891), Bouriant (1893), Burckhardt (1875), Dulac (1885-1889), Hanki (1897), and Landberg (1888) all suffer from this lack of vowel signs. Other collections offer only a limited amount of material.

Green's Modern Arabic Stories, Ballads, Proverbs, and Idioms (1909) consists almost entirely of copies from Spitta, Dulac, and Spiro's dictionary. In addition, he has redone Spitta's transcription into his own, which is considerably inferior.

LIST OF TITLES

Abdallah, Albert George, 1960. *An Instrumental Study of the Intonation of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan.

Aboul-Fetouh, Hilmi M., 1959. *The Plural Morpheme of Egyptian Arabic Nouns*. M.A. thesis, University of Texas.

Al-Alati, 1889-91. *Tarwiḥ an-nufus wa-mudḥik al-^{c}abus*. Cairo.

Anis, Ibrahim, 1941. *The Grammatical Characteristics of the Spoken Arabic of Egypt*. Ph.D. thesis, University of London.

Athanasius, Atallah, 1954. *A Medical Phrasebook and Vocabulary in English and Arabic*. American University in Cairo Oriental Studies. Cairo.

Ayoub, A.E.R., 1949. *The Verbal Piece in the Egyptian Language (A Morphological Study)*. M.A. thesis, University of London.

Birkeland, Harris, 1952. *Growth and Structure of the Egyptian Arabic Dialect*. Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo: II. Hist.-filos. Klasse, 1952, No. 2. Oslo.

Bishai, Wilson B., 1959. *Coptic Influence on Egyptian Arabic*. Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University.

-----, 1960. "Notes on the Coptic Substratum in Egyptian Arabic". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80.225-229.

Bishr, K.M.A., 1952. *Egyptian Newspaper Headlines (A Linguistic Study)*. M.A. thesis, University of London.

Bouriant, M. Urbain, 1893. *Chansons populaires arabes en dialecte du Caire d'après les manuscrits d'un chanteur des rues*. Paris.

Burckhardt, John Lewis, 1875. *Arabic Proverbs*. 2nd edition. London.

Dawood, T.H.O.M., 1949. *The Phonetics of the Il-Karnak Dialect (Upper Egypt)*. M.A. thesis, University of London.

Dulac, H., 1885. "Contes arabes en dialecte de la Haute-Egypte". *Journal asiatique VIIIe série* 5.5-38.

-----, 1889. "Contes arabes modernes". *Mém. publ. par les membres de la mission archéologique au Caire* 1.55-112. Paris.

Elder, E.E., 1927. *Egyptian Colloquial Reader*. London.

Elias, Edward E., 1949. *Practical Dictionary of the Colloquial Arabic of the Middle East, English-Arabic*. 2nd edition. Cairo.

Fiske, Daniel Willard, 1904a. *Agrûmyja maṣry maktûba bil lisân el maṣry we ma^{c}ha amsila*. Florence.

-----, 1904b. *An Egyptian Alphabet for the Egyptian*. Florence.

Gairdner, W.H.T., 1917. *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. 1st edition. Cambridge. (3rd edition [1944] revised by E.E. Elder. Cairo)

-----, 1925. *The Phonetics of Arabic*. London.

Gamal-Eldin, Saad M., 1959. *Morphophonemics of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic*. M.A. thesis, University of Texas.

Ghaly, Muhammad Mahmoud, 1960. *Substantive Morphology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan.

Green, A.O., 1887, 1893. *Practical Arabic Grammar*. 2 volumes. Vol. I, 2nd edition (1887); Vol. II, 3rd edition (1893). Oxford.

-----, 1909. *Modern Arabic Stories, Ballads, Proverbs, and Idioms*. 2 volumes. Oxford.

Guest, A.R., 1902. Review of Willmore 1905. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1902.444-461.

Hanki, Joseph, 1897. *A Collection of Modern Egyptian Proverbs*. Cairo.

Harrell, Richard S., 1957. *The Phonology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic*. American Council of Learned Societies Program in Oriental Languages, Publications Series B - Aids - Number 9. New York.

Helmy-Hassan, Salah E., 1960. *Verb Morphology of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, Cairene Dialect*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan.

Heyworth-Dunne, John, ed., n.d., *Spoken Egyptian Arabic* (Linguaphone course). New York.

Kamel, N., 1953. *Political Jargon in Contemporary Egypt*. Ph.D. thesis, University of London.

Kennedy, Nancy M., 1960. *Problems of Americans in Mastering the Pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic*. Washington.

Khalafallah, Abdelghany Abdallah, 1959. *Some Phonological Problems Involved in the Learning of English by Native Speakers of Sa^{c}idi Colloquial Egyptian Arabic*. M.A. thesis, University of Texas.

Landberg, Carlo de, 1888. *Bâsim le forgeron et Hârûn er-Rachîd*. Leyden.

Lane, E.W., 1850. "Ueber die Aussprache der arabischen Vocale und die Betonung der arabischen Woerter". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 4.171-186.

Lehn, Walter and William R. Slager, 1959. "A Contrastive Study of Egyptian Arabic and American English: The Segmental Phonemes". Language Learning 9.25-33.

Mitchell, T.F., 1956. An Introduction to Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. Oxford.

-----, 1960. "Prominence and Syllabication in Arabic". Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 23.369-389.

Munzel, Kurt, 1958. Ägyptisch-arabischer Sprachführer. Wiesbaden.

Nallino, Carlo A., 1913. L'arabo parlato in Egitto. Milan.

Nyberg, H.S., 1937. "Quelques remarques sur la prononciation de l'arabe parlé en Egypte". Monde Oriental 31.42-48.

O'Leary, DeLacy, 1925. Colloquial Arabic, with Notes on the Vernacular Speech of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. London.

Petráček, Karel, 1956. "Zum arabischen Dialekte von Ägypten: Zum koptischen Einfluss im Arabishen [sic]". Archiv Orientální 24.591-595.

Phillott, Douglas C. and A. Powell, 1926. Manual of Egyptian Arabic. Cairo.

Spiro Bey, Socrates, 1923. Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt. 2nd edition. Cairo.

-----, 1929. An English-Arabic Vocabulary of the Modern and Colloquial Arabic of Egypt. 3rd edition. Cairo.

Spitta Bey, Wilhelm, 1880. Grammatik des arabischen Vulgaerdialectes von Aegypten. Leipzig.

-----, 1883. Contes arabes modernes. Leyden.

Sultanov, A.F., 1955. "Problema formirovanija nacional'nogo jazyka v Egipte". Voprosy jazykoznanija 4.6.32-47.

Tewfik, Laila and Richard S. Harrell, 1957. Lessons in Colloquial Egyptian Arabic. Washington. [Mimeographed. With tapes]

Vollers, Karl, 1887. "Beitraege zur Kenntniss der lebenden arabischen Sprache in Aegypten". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 41.365-402.

-----, 1890. Lehrbuch der aegyptoarabischen Umgangssprache mit Uebungen und Glossar. Cairo. (English translation by F.C. Burkitt. Cambridge, 1895)

Wallin, G.A., 1855, 1858. "Ueber die Laute des Arabischen und ihre Bezeichnung". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 9.1-69 (1855); 12.599-655 (1858).

Willmore, John Selden, 1905. The Spoken Arabic of Egypt. 2nd edition. London. (Reprinted 1919)

-----, 1927. Handbook of Spoken Egyptian Arabic. 4th edition. Oxford. (Reprinted 1942)

Arabian Peninsula Arabic Studies by R. A. C. Goodison

Introduction

Owing to the comparative inaccessibility of many parts of the Arabian peninsula, the Arabic studies for this region which have been published are largely restricted to certain areas around its periphery. Also, until the coming of the oil companies to the Persian Gulf coast (and before their post-war expansion in particular), few of the studies have been of a kind designed primarily for the use of those desiring to learn to speak one of the peninsular dialects of Arabic. However, a listing of what has been accomplished may be helpful - in spite of a rather heavy weighting on the side of material of predominantly professional interest.

The first scholarly work in this field appears to have been done as early as 1848 by Wallin. His contribution and that of others of this early period are mentioned because no thoroughgoing studies have yet been made for the areas in which they worked.

General and Comparative Studies

The only dialect studies per se that have been done in the area are the sound contributions of Cantineau (1936, 1937) and Rossi (1937, 1938, 1940).

Cantineau's investigation covers nineteen tribes or sub-tribes of the Syrian-Arabian desert area, both nomads and settled groups of traceable nomad origin. The area covered includes roughly the desert regions thrusting north between Aleppo and the upper Euphrates, to the northern part of Jordan on the west, and south along the Wadi Sirhan, including a sample from as far south as the village of Al-Rass in Qasim. Much of the basic material, gathered between 1934 and 1936, was recorded on phonograph records. All nomad informants were interviewed in the course of their wanderings in Syria or Jordan. On the basis of this material, Cantineau presents his evidence that these groups represent a dialect area set off from the dialects of the settled areas in Syria and the former area of Palestine, and Iraq, as well as indicating the major sub-differences within the group.[1]

Rossi's first article (1937), based on research in the Yemen in 1936, distinguishes an East Yemen dialect, that of San^{c}a (for which a prose selection and a group of songs are included in transcription), and the dialects of the western plateau and coastal areas. Research was based on interrogation of travelers coming to San^{c}a. The second article (1938), arising from research in 1937-38, adds information on the coastal dialects of Hodeida (accompanied by a text in transcription), as well as north Yemen, and includes a classification of all the Yemeni dialects observed.

An article of specialized interest (1940) contains a number of words from the spoken Arabic of Yemen which were collected by Rossi as an aid in determining the vowels of ancient South Arabic inscriptions. Certain entries from Rossi's chrestomathy of inscriptions are checked against their modern counterparts from the spoken language.

A further article dealing with Yemeni Arabic is that of Bravmann (1942), which includes several general observations and a discussion of various grammatical points of dialect based on the text Travels in Yemen (1941) (written in the Arabic of San^{c}a by Joseph Halevy's guide, describing their travels in 1870), as well as oral sources.

Dictionaries

No dictionary for general use has been compiled for any dialect of the area. Two works which fall in this category more or less are rather severely limited in scope and intent. Stace's Vocabulary (1893) consists of material collected in Aden from a number of sources, written as well as spoken. In content and organization of material it strongly reflects the type of communication which apparently occurred in the course of the author's work as assistant political resident. The book is more like an enlarged glossary than a dictionary, the main entries being drawn from sample sentences of quite restricted use. There are about 5,000 main entries in partly voweled Arabic script; noun plurals are nearly always included.

Landberg's *Glossaire Dathînois* (1920-1942) is based primarily on his Dathina[2] texts (1905-1913), but also has entries from the glossary appended to his collection of texts from Hadhramaut (1901). Since his interest was mainly in tracing the meanings of roots, his glossary entries are expanded into notes on comparative Semitic studies, listing cognates from all Arabic dialect studies published up to that time, as well as from other Semitic languages. Part of Landberg's glossary based on his ^{c}Anaiza dialect texts (1919) is also included in the Dathina glossary.

The glossary items are in voweled Arabic script and the entries themselves are quite long; the second volume is entirely taken up with the letter *raʔ*. The entry for *fi^{c}il*, originally written for the glossary, was later published separately (1940). The three large volumes which make up the glossary (one published posthumously) are thus crammed with lexical items from a number of Arabic dialects; since the items are listed in voweled Arabic script, however, more exact information as to their form must be sought in the texts, which are in transcription.

Landberg's ^{c}Anaiza glossary (1920) is based on a series of stories (1919) which were partly collected in Damascus from a Christian villager from the Hauran who claimed extended contact with Bedouins of the Anaiza tribe, and partly from anonymous Ruwala informants. The glossary follows the same pattern as the Dathina glossary in which it was previously partly incorporated, as mentioned above.

Aside from these three works, vocabularies are included in most of the textbooks and some of the collections of texts listed below. Of these, the most extensive is that of Rossi (1939). The Aramco Series of textbooks also includes a 7,000 item word-list (1958) based on the dialect of the Persian Gulf area. In an article not available to me, de Boucheman (1934) gives a description of the material culture of the Sba^{c}a, furnishing about 500 words of the dialect.[3]

Descriptive Studies

No thoroughgoing descriptive analysis has yet appeared for any dialect of peninsular Arabic. There are only three full length studies, those of Jayakar, Reinhardt, and Rossi. Grammar outlines are appended to the collections of texts of Socin, Rhodokanakis, and Hein, described above, although the structure of the dialects involved does not emerge with much clarity. Finally, van den Berg's brief sketch (1886) is based on the variety of Hadhrami Arabic spoken in what was the Dutch East Indies; in it he notes borrowings from Malay and deviations from Classical Arabic.

Jayakar's study of ^{c}Omani (1889) is not very satisfactory. The speech on which it is based or the area in which it is spoken is not clear; the description is sketchy and notes only deviations from Classical Arabic, and there is frequently complete confusion between the spoken language and the writing system. Since the examples (which are rather scanty) are in Arabic script only, it is impossible to gain a clear idea of pronunciation. A further article by Jayakar (1904a) deals with the speech of certain tribes in northern Oman (the Ras Jabal area) and suffers from similar drawbacks.

Reinhardt's book (1894) gives a description of a dialect identified as being that spoken widely in Zanzibar as well as in the Jabal Akhdhar region of Oman (between the towns of al-Ristaq and Nizwa). The book was intended as a textbook but seems little different in format from the scholarly language studies of the late nineteenth century, which are hardly suited for beginners. The grammatical treatment draws heavily on grammatical terms used for European languages, which are not very helpful in dealing with Arabic. For instance, nouns are discussed in terms of the case forms of Latin. The text also includes twenty-three stories (some are translations from other grammars), 200 proverbs, and thirty-one war songs, all in transcriptions and with translations.

For the Yemen, Rossi's L'arabo parlato a San^{c}a (1959) is quite useful. Like Reinhardt's book, this was also intended as a textbook; it is definitely superior to Reinhardt's, both as a descriptive study and as a textbook. It is based on the speech of San^{c}a and the immediate vicinity. The grammar sketch which is included is concise but fairly complete; it presumes a knowledge of Classical Arabic. There is a good selection of text materials in transcription, which covers a wide range (phrases and dialogues on common subjects, proverbs, stories, and popular songs and poetry). A lexicon lists words under various headings - government, calendar and seasons, money, domestic articles, etc., followed by a vocabulary of about 1100 items. Goitein (1960) also deals with a Yemenite dialect.

Textbooks

Most of the textbooks on dialects of the peninsula have been developed by oil companies for the purpose of training their non-Arabic speaking personnel in the use of the colloquial language spoken in their areas of operation.

A series of texts prepared by linguists of the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), designated as the Aramco Arabic Language Series, is based on the colloquial Arabic of Al-Hasa province in eastern Saudi Arabia. The Pocket Guide (1955) contains a set of model conversations dealing with everyday situations written in transcription, with a short grammar sketch and description of sounds, and a vocabulary. The Guide, accompanied by a record on which the conversations are recorded, is helpful as an introductory text for beginners.

For use on a more advanced level, Spoken Arabic (1957) is similar in form to the Spoken Language Series published by Henry Holt and Company. It contains twelve lessons in conversational form together with a grammar sketch and vocabulary. The text is accompanied by a set of nineteen records, on which the conversations are reproduced. Basic Arabic (1957a), now being republished, consists of fifty somewhat shorter lessons also in transcription, with a grammar sketch. The first twenty lessons are also reproduced on three by five cards, the lessons on one side and the translation and vocabulary on the other. The cards can be carried in a special pocket folder. A higher-level textbook (also containing conversational lessons) called Conversational Arabic has also been republished in the series.

The content of these textbooks of course reflects the particular work and life of Aramco employees. This is even more the case in the Work Arabic Series (1954 -), which was designed for use on specific company work sites; this series, also in conversational form, includes a textbook for use in the company's clinics, and textbooks dealing with some aspects of automotive repair, storehouse operation and refinery operation. (The last two are in mimeographed form only[4]).

A good booklet for beginners, similar to Aramco's Pocket Guide in format and content, is the handbook published by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, for use by the company's employees on Bahrain Island in the Persian Gulf.

A useful text for the Arabic of Kuwait is the manual of the Kuwait Oil Company, Limited (1952). It contains fifteen lessons of grammar with exercises and twenty-eight lessons consisting of conversations dealing with the company's operations (the latter group of lessons is also reproduced on an accompanying set of records). The latest edition has a further section of ten "studies" consisting of sample company circulars and notices for translation into Arabic and class discussion; the earlier edition had a section of fourteen lessons in "semi-classical" Arabic dealing with the geography, climate, etc. of Kuwait, topics of more general interest. Both editions have a description of sounds and a vocabulary (English-Arabic in both editions, also Arabic-English in the second), although some sounds (ṣ and ṭ) are not distinguished in the later edition.

For the spoken Arabic of Aden, Hamood Hason's phrase book (1941) has a large number of sample sentences dealing with various subjects, but is apparently designed primarily for military personnel. Also included are sentences dealing with medical and legal work as well as commerce. Sentences in colloquial Arabic are in transcription, with equivalent sentences in Classical Arabic given in unvoweled Arabic script; unfortunately the transcription is not very satisfactory. The sentences in each section are rather jumbled, and would be more useful if they were rearranged in a more logical order.

A book of exercises in Aden Arabic by Emerson and Muhammad Abdoh Ghanem (1943) is apparently based on a companion volume, Aden Arabic Grammar. (A new version of the latter has appeared [Ghanem (1955)], though it was not available for the writing of this article.) The exercises are keyed to the grammar and are quite mixed as to purpose and method; the transcription is reasonably adequate.

The works of Reinhardt (1894) and Rossi (1939) were discussed above under Descriptive Studies.

Collections of Texts

Most of the texts gathered show a preponderance of modern colloquial poetry, with the remainder made up of prose selections (usually stories), proverbs, and songs.

For the Syrian-Arabian desert area, two stories of the Shammar tribe in the Nejd have been published by Montagne (1935-1945, 1940), although the exact source is not stated. The texts are in a transcription that is only partially explained in a footnote (1940, p. 411). A group of texts describing incidents which were used as the basis for certain poems by members of the Shammar tribe in the Jazirah area have also been collected by him, for literary rather than linguistic purposes (1937).

Two small collections of stories made by Littmann have a somewhat diminished linguistic value owing to their obscure origin and the fact that they were obtained in written form in unvoweled Arabic script. Recorded by an Arab from Jerusalem, the first group (1908) was copied from a manuscript of stories collected among the Bedouins east of the Jordan in the mid-nineteenth century. It includes five stories and a glossary of those terms occurring in them which are not found in Classical Arabic. The second group, containing four stories, is identified as being from the desert in the Hauran area (1915). A collection of Bedouin names was also made by Littmann in the same area (1921). All three collections are in unvoweled Arabic script, and the stories are accompanied by translations.

A story from the Hijaz, recorded by Jobée (1941), was obtained about forty years ago from several female informants in Jidda. It is in a fair transcription (no key is given), but without translation.

Most of the text material for the central part of the peninsula was obtained outside that area. One exception to this, at least in part, is the collection of Wallin (1851, 1852) made in 1945, consisting of six songs with translation and commentary. They are in a transcription for which no key is given, and in unvoweled Arabic script in which the text is normalized somewhat in favor of standard written forms. The songs are identified as originating in Al-Jauf; four appear to have been collected there, one was heard in Syria from a native of that town and one was heard from Bedouins in Tebuk.

Wetzstein's text (1868) is prose and was obtained in 1860 east of Damascus in an encampment of the Weld Ali, a sub-tribe of the ᶜAnaiza. His informant, however, was a Sharari who had lived thirty years with the tribe.[5] The text, in voweled Arabic script, is accompanied by a translation and commentary.

Socin's texts (1900, 1901), almost entirely poetry, were obtained in the 1870's in Baghdad, Suq al-Shuyukh, and Mardin from a variety of informants and also from manuscript sources. The informants included a native of Buraida who traveled with the caravans between Baghdad and Aleppo, a native of ᶜAnaiza living in Suq al-Shuyukh, and a peasant-nomad from Mardin who claimed to belong to the Tai tribe. Some texts were obtained from a native of Al-Hasa, mostly in written form but some orally. A few poems are reproduced from manuscripts in the Strasbourg Museum.

The collection contains 109 poems and three prose selections; also included are diagrams of a horse, camel and saddle, etc., with glossaries of terms keyed to them.

Four prose texts were collected by Landberg as representing samples of ᶜAnaiza speech (1919). The texts are in transcription and voweled Arabic script together with a translation.[6] As was his custom, Landberg checked and revised these texts extensively. His checking was done with a wide variety of informants including ᶜAnaizis encountered in Damascus and "d'autres gens de l'Intérieur, surtout des Qasîmites" (p. iii), which renders his texts somewhat unreliable as dialect information on the speech of the ᶜAnaiza tribe alone.

A collection of approximately 800 Bedouin names was made by Hess in 1909 (1912). It was begun with a group of townspeople and later checked with Bedouins from the Najd and West Arabia whom the author knew in the Hijaz and Egypt. Most of the names are from the ᶜUtaiba and Qahtan tribes, according to the author. They are classified in several categories and are listed in unvoweled Arabic script and transcription.

Musil's book on the Ruwala Bedouins (1928) contains a fairly large amount of dialect material in the form of poetry as well as isolated phrases and sentences. However, the source of his material is not always clear (Musil indicates in his Introduction [p. xiii] that some of his information was gathered from a member of the Sba^{c}a sub-tribe), and the transcription is sometimes ambiguous, which reduces the value of the material for dialect study.

For the Hadhramaut area, a considerable body of material has been collected by Landberg. His earlier work in this area (1895) consists of two prose pieces and three short poems in transcription and unvoweled Arabic script with translations and commentaries. This material was obtained in Aden from an informant from Shibam.

Volume I of Landberg's Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale (1901) contains forty-four poems and descriptions of twelve occupations (such as merchant, laborer, peasant, etc.). These were also collected, checked and revised in Aden over a period of five years in sessions with a rather diverse group ("En redigeant mon manuscrit, j'ai été entouré de hadramites, de dathînois, de ^{c}awaliq et d'autres bédouins de l'Interieur". p. x).

Serjeant's Prose and Poetry from Ḥadramawt (1951), the first volume of his South Arabian Poetry, contains forty-four poems, twenty-nine "fragments" and five prose selections. The text is in voweled script only; a commentary is to appear in Volume II. The book also contains considerable information on contemporary poetry in South Arabia, and a metrical analysis is made for each poem.

This collection of colloquial poetry was collected by the author "to approach the study of Ḥadrami civilization through the medium of the language". Most of the material was collected from written copies made by Hadhramis and was subject to emendation through discussion with many informants so as to eliminate "corrupt" portions of texts.

Serjeant has also published a group of "tanṣūrahs", or rallying cries from the city of Tarim in Hadhramaut, together with a description of their use (1950). The tansurahs are in voweled Arabic script. Another article (1948) describes four types of secret language observed in the Aden Protectorate.

Texts from the Dathina area are to be found in the second volume of Landberg's Etudes (1905-1913). Poetry and prose texts in transcription and (for the most part) also in unvoweled Arabic script, with translations, appear in Part 1 of the volume; a lengthy commentary on the prose selections makes up Part 2, while the poetry commentary is in Part 3.

The texts were gathered in Aden "en grande société d'indigénes", while the translation and commentaries were made with the help of unspecified "collaborateurs bédouins".

Thirty-six of the prose texts were apparently elicited from tribal informants from Dathina. Eight of these texts are in parallel columns with versions in other Arab dialects, and six texts are entirely in other dialects (included in order to compare details of the subject matter occurring in some of the Dathina texts). Fifty-six poetry texts are given in two versions, one as recited and one as sung. It is on these prose and poetry texts - Dathina and others - that Landberg's Glossaire dathînois (1920-1942) is based.

A later publication (1909) is of interest chiefly as a tour de force. It consists of a story originally obtained in the Hauran and translated into the Dathina dialect by Landberg himself. The parallel texts are in transcription and unvoweled Arabic script, accompanied by a translation and commentary.

Rossi's dialect study of San^{c}a Arabic (1957), mentioned previously, includes a prose selection and ten songs in transcription. His textbook (1959) contains nine stories, four prose pieces relating to usage and ceremony in San^{c}a, thirty-nine popular songs and poems, and sixty proverbs.

A text in Yemeni Arabic obtained from Yemeni Jews in Palestine has been recorded by Goitein (1931, 1933). It is a story recited by a native Amran (near San^{c}a) who had long been a resident of Palestine. The text was checked with more recent emigrants, including children, and the differences noted. The story is in transcription and is accompanied by a translation and a short commentary.

A text in the Arabic of San^{c}a written by Joseph Halévy's guide describing their travels through Yemen to Najran in 1870 has been published by Goitein (1941), though I have not seen it. It apparently includes a glossary of the non-classical words occurring in the text.

Texts were obtained by Hein (1949) in 1902 in Qishn (on the south coast of the peninsula about 180 miles east of Mukalla) from a variety of informants who were apparently all speakers of Mehri. Most of the prose and poetry pieces appear in parallel versions in Mehri, Hadhrami Arabic, and German; a few are in Mehri and German only. The versions in Arabic were all translated from the original Mehri by a bilingual speaker identified as being from "Gasán".[7]

Selections of texts appear in Reinhardt's treatment of the Arabic of Oman and Zanzibar (1894). Two prose selections in the dialect of the same area appear in articles by Rössler (1898, 1900). These are in transcription with translations.

Texts from the Dhofar area are to be found in Rhodokanakis' study (1908, 1911). These texts, both prose and poetry, were collected in Vienna in 1904 from an informant from Khofar[8] identified as a Bedouin incense gatherer who was also a speaker of Shkhauri, and who served as informant for that language in another volume[9] of the series in which this study was published. They consist of seventeen stories, 112 poems, and four proverbs in transcription and translation.

Collections of proverbs from the Arabian peninsula have been listed and described elsewhere,[10] but have been included in this bibliography for convenience [Cline (1940), Goitein (1934), Hurgronje (1886, 1891), Jayakar (1904b), Rossi (1939), Yahuda (1912)]. In addition to these, a selection has been noted in Reinhardt's textbook (1894).

NOTES

1. Cantineau also gives a critical bibliography of dialect studies for the peninsula (footnotes pp. 1-4). This includes comments on the following items in the present bibliography: de Bouchman (1934), Hess (1912), Landberg (1919), Littmann (1908), Musil (1928), Socin (1900-1901), Wallin (1851-1852), Wetzstein (1868).
2. Dathina is a tribal area in the Western Aden Protectorate bordering on Yemen, about 100 miles northeast of the port of Aden.

3. Cf. Cantineau's comments on this in his study (1936, footnote p. 3). Goitein (1960) gives lexical material from a Yemeni dialect.
4. For details on the Aramco Arabic teaching materials see my "Arabic Teaching Materials - Aramco and the Foreign Service Institute", Report on Current Research in the Middle East, Spring 1957, pp. 57-67 (Washington, 1957).
5. According to Landberg (1919, p. 1) Wetzstein's informant was the same man (a Christian villager from the Hauran) who provided Landberg with several of his ^{c}Anaiza texts. Landberg claims Wetzstein never visited a Bedouin encampment.
6. A key to Landberg's transcription appears in 1901, p. xix, 1905, p. x, and 1913, p. xiv.
7. The texts were edited and analyzed by D.H. Müller since Hein died shortly after his return to Europe.
8. Rhodokanakis identifies the locale as "Dhofar am persischen Meerbusen" (Vol. I, p. v). The only area of this name today that I have been able to locate is the southernmost district of Oman bordering on the Aden Protectorate, on the southeast coast of the Arabian peninsula and situated on the Arabian Sea.
9. D.H. Müller, Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache, Südarabische Expedition: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vol. VII, Vienna, 1909. According to Müller, the informant "sprach mit gleichen Gewandtheit den arabischen Dialekt von Zofar (Dhofar) wie die Šhauri-sprache" (p. vii).
10. C.A. Ferguson and J.M. Echols, "Critical Bibliography of Spoken Arabic Proverb Literature", Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 65 (1952), pp. 67-84.

LIST OF TITLES

Arabian American Oil Company, 1954-. *Work Arabic II*: *Medical*, Dhahran; *Transportation-Garages*, Abqaiq; *Storehouse-Receiving and Shipping* [mimeographed]; *Refinery* [mimeographed]

-----, 1955. *Pocket Guide to Arabic*. Aramco Arabic Language Series. Dhahran.

-----, 1957a. *Basic Arabic*. Aramco Arabic Language Series. [Dhahran] [Accompanied by lesson cards]

-----, 1957b. *Spoken Arabic*. Aramco Arabic Language Series. Dhahran. [Accompanied by set of nineteen records]

-----, 1958. *English-Arabic Word List*. Aramco Arabic Language Series. Beirut.

-----, n.d. *Conversational Arabic*. Aramco Arabic Language Series. Beirut.

Bahrain Petroleum Company, Limited, n.d. *Handbook of the Spoken Arabic of Bahrain*.

Bravmann, Meʾir M., 1942. "Notes on the Study of the Arabic Dialect of Yemen". *Tarbiz* 13.165-177.

Cantineau, Jean, 1936, 1937. "Etudes sur quelques parlers de nomades arabes d'Orient". *Annales de l'Institut d'études orientales* 2.1-118, 3.119-237.

Cline, Walter, 1940. "Proverbs and Lullabies from Southern Arabia". *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 57.291-301.

de Boucheman, A., 1934. "Matériel de la vie bédouine recueilli dans le désert de Syrie [Tribu des arabes Sba^{c}a]". *Institut français de Damas. Documents d'études orientales 3*.

Emerson, L.H.S. and Mohammad Abdoh Ghanem, 1943. *Aden Arabic Exercises*. Aden.

Ghanem, M.A., 1955. *Aden Arabic for Beginners*. [Aden]

Goitein, S.D.F., 1931, 1933. "Jemenische Geschichten". *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 8.162-181 [text], 9.19-43 [translation and commentary]

-----, 1934. *Jemenica. Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen mit zahlreichen Sach- und Worterläuterungen*. Leipzig.

-----, ed., 1941. *Travels in Yemen*. Jerusalem.

-----, 1960. "The Language of Al-Gades: The Main Characteristics of an Arabic Dialect Spoken in Lower Yemen". *Muséon* 73.351-354.

Hamood Hason, Khan Saheb Syed, 1941. *Arabic Simplified. Being a Manual of Colloquial and Written Arabic Containing Sentences on Various Subjects*. 2nd edition. Aden.

Hein, Wilhelm, 1909. *Mehri- und Ḥaḍrami-Texte*. Südarabische Expedition. Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna.

Hess, J.J., 1912. "Beduinennamen aus Zentralarabien". *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 3*.

Hurgronje, C. Snouck, 1886. *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*. The Hague. [Also in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde von Nederlandsch-Indië* 1.433-576 (1886), and *Verspreide Geschriften* 5.1-112 (1925)]

-----, 1887. *Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*. Vienna. [Also in *Verspreide Geschriften* 5.115-119 (1925)]

-----, 1891. "Enkele Zegswijzen en een raadsel der Ḥadramieten". *Feestbundel aan Prof. M.J. de Goeje* 17-37. Leiden. [Also in *Verspreide Geschriften* 5.161-168 (1925)]

Jayakar, A.S.G., 1889. "The O'mánee Dialect of Arabic". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series)* 21.649-687, 811-880.

-----, 1904a. "The Shahee Dialect of Arabic". *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21.246-277.

-----, 1904b. "O'mánee Proverbs". *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21.435-498.

Jobée, E., 1941. "A Tale from Hejaz". *Acta Orientalia* 19.21-32.

Kuwait Oil Company, Limited, 1952. *Handbook of Kuwaiti Arabic*.

Landberg, Carlo de, 1895. "Les Métiers de Ḥaḍramût". *Arabica* 3.21-112.

-----, 1901-1913. *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie meridionale*. Vol. I, Ḥaḍramoût (1901). Vol. 2, Dathînah: Première partie-Textes et traduction (1905); Deuxième partie-Commentaire des textes prosaiques (1909); Troisième partie-Commentaire des textes poétiques (1913). Leiden.

-----, 1909. *Jeder tut was ihm passt*. Leiden.

-----, 1919. *Langue des bedouins ^{c}Anazeh, texte arabe, avec traduction,*

commentaire et glossaire. Première partie: texte arabe et traduction. Leiden. [Commentary never published; for glossary see next entry]

-----, 1920. "Glossaire de la langue des bédouins ^{c}Anazeh". Publié par K.V. Zetterstéen. *Uppsala universitets årsskrift* 1920.2.

-----, 1920-1942. *Glossaire dathînois*. Vol. I, *alif-dḥal* (1920). Vol. 2, *ra'* (1923). Vol. 3 (publié par K.V. Zetterstéen), *zai-kaf* (1942). Leiden.

-----, 1940. "Etude sur les verbes fi^{c}il". Publiée d'après le manuscrit du Comte de Landberg par K.V. Zetterstéen. *Uppsala universitets årsskrift* 1940.2.

Littmann, Enno, 1908. "Arabische Beduinererzählungen". *Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*.

-----, 1915. "Märchen und Legenden aus der syrisch-arabischen Wüste". *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.

-----, 1921. "Beduinen- und Drusennamen aus dem Ḥaurân-Gebiet". *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.

Montagne, M.R., 1935-1945. "Sālfet Šāyé 'Alemsāh Gyedd Errmāl (Texte en dialecte des Šemmar du Negd)". *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* 125-130. Cairo.

-----, 1937. "Contes poétiques bédouins, recueillis chez les Šammar de Gezīré". *Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 5.33-120.

-----, 1940. "Le Ghazou de Šayé 'Alemsāḥ (Conte en dialecte des Semmar du Negd, sous-tribu des Rmal)". *Melanges Maspéro 3*. *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 68.411-416.

Musil, Alois, 1928. *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*. American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 6. New York.

Reinhardt, Carl, 1894. *Ein arabischer Dialect gesprochen in ^{c}Oman und Zanzibar*. Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen zu Berlin, Vol. 13. Stuttgart and Berlin.

Rhodokanakis, N., 1908, 1911. *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt in Dofar (Zfâr)*. Südarabische Expedition: Kaiserliche Akademie der

Wissenschaften. Vol. VIII, Prosaische und poetische Texte, Übersetzung und Indices (1908); Vol. X, Einleitung, Glossar und Grammatik (1911). Vienna.

Rossi, Ettore, 1937. "Appunti di dialettologia del Yemen". *Revista degli studi orientali* 17.250-265.

-----, 1938. "Nuove osservazioni sui dialetti de Yemen". *Revista degli studi orientali* 17.460-472.

-----, 1939. *L'arabc parlato a San^{c}â': Grammatica, testi, lessico*. Publicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente. Rome.

-----, 1940. "Vocaboli sud-arabici nelle odierne parlate arabe del Yemen". *Revista degli studi orientali* 18.299-314.

Rössler, Walter, 1898. "Nachal und Wad il Ma^{c}āwil-Eine Erzählung im Omandialekt". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 1 (Zweite Abteilung) 56-90.

-----, 1900. "Die Geschichte von der Pockenkrankheit-Eine Erzählung im Omandialekt". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin* 3 (Zweite Abteilung) 1-42.

Serjeant, R.B., 1948. "'Cant' in Contemporary South-Arabic Dialect". *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London) 121-126.

-----, 1950. "The Quarters of Tarīm and their Tansūrahs". *Muséon* 63.276-284.

-----, 1951. *South Arabian Poetry 1: Prose and Poetry from Ḥaḍramawt*. London.

Socin, Albert, 1900-1901. *Diwan aus Centralarabien*. Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der königl. sächsichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 19. I. Teil, Texte nebst Glossen und Excurse; II. Teil, Übersetzung; III. Teil, Einleitung, Glossar und Indices. Leipzig.

Stace, E.V., 1893. *An English-Arabic Vocabulary for the Use of Students of the Colloquial*. London.

van den Berg, L.W.C., 1886. *Le Ḥadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel indien*. Batavia.

Wallin, G.A., 1851-1852. "Probe aus einer Anthologie neuarabische Gesänge, in der Wüste gesammelt". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 5.1-23, 6.190-218, 369-378.

Wetzstein, J.G., 1868. "Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Wüste". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 22.69-194.

Yahuda, A.S., 1912. "Yemenische Sprichwörter aus Sanna". Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 26.345-358.

Iraqi Arabic Studies by Haim Blanc

Introduction

The varieties of Arabic spoken in Iraq[1] have not been studied in great detail. Reliable material on them does not exceed that available for the peninsular dialects, and is considerably scantier than that on Syrian or Egyptian Arabic. A good many of the works listed here are included only for lack of anything more substantial, and offer only indirect, scattered and sometimes dubious linguistic data. Indeed, some titles (e.g., Blum 1927, Massignon 1916, O'Leary 1925, Ram 1907, Seresser 1918) are actually misleading, in that the works concerned offer little or no information on Iraqi Arabic. On the available published and unpublished evidence, the following general features may nevertheless be discerned:

(a) Two broad dialectal types, each with several subdivisions, may be distinguished. On the basis of their respective forms of the word for "I said", these may be called the *qiltu*-dialects and the *gilit*-dialects. The former cover the old sedentary centers of the North, viz. roughly the *al-Jazīrah* of the Arab geographers (Mosul, ^{c}Āna, Hīt, Tikrīt, etc.), and are also found among some isolated urban groups of the Center and South, notably the Christians and Jews. Dialects of the second type cover (except for these isolated groups) the rest of Iraq, i.e., the urban centers of the Center and South (*al-^{c}Irāq* of the Arab geographers), including Baghdad, Basra, al-Najaf, Karbala, al-Hilla, etc.; the rural areas of that region; and the nomadic and semi-nomadic populations of all Iraq, both North and South. The large non-Arabic-speaking population is, of course, excluded.

(b) The *gilit*-dialects are dominant, both numerically and in prestige. They are akin to the dialects of Kuwayt, of Northeastern Arabia and of the Syrian desert Bedouins.[2] The *qiltu*-dialects have extensions into the Turkish provinces of Mardin, Siirt, Urfa and Diyarbekir, and affinities with North Syrian sedentary dialects.

Within Iraq, both dialectal types, despite their differences, share many features of grammar and vocabulary, which gives them a common Iraqi coloring.

General and Comparative Studies

Beyond a few scattered, though judicious, observations by Meissner (1901, p. 137, fn. 1, pp. 138 ff.), Cantineau[3] and Fleisch,[4] no work has been published on Iraqi Arabic as a whole. Two comparative works are of special interest to linguists and language teachers alike, viz. Al-Toma's systematic comparison of an Iraqi colloquial with classical Arabic (1957), and Malik's comparison of English and Iraqi, (i.e. Muslim Baghdadi) consonant clusters (1956-57). In addition to their primary pedagogical interest, both studies offer valuable and reliable data compiled by native speakers. In particular, Malik's account of initial clusters is a useful antidote to Van Wagoner's transcription (1949), which is somewhat misleading in this respect.

Vocabularies

There are no dictionaries of Iraqi Arabic as such, but the vocabularies of Van Ess (1938, pp. 121-280, Arabic-English), Van Wagoner (1949, vol. I, pp. xix-liii, English-Arabic and Arabic-English), Meissner (1903, pp. 112-148, Arabic-German) offer limited substitutes. Many lexical items, restricted both regionally and as to the segment of vocabulary they cover, may be found in Gudme (1935, 1949) and Salīm (1956). The latter is in unvocalized or partly vocalized Arabic script, but offers valuable terms in use among the marsh dwellers of the South. Some other ethnographic works on Iraq, not listed here, provide similar data.[5]

Descriptive Studies

Meissner's grammatical sketch of the dialect of Kwēriš (district of Musayyab, province of al-Ḥilla) constitutes the introduction of his "Neuarabische Geschichten" (1903), and much the same grammatical material may also be found in his "Neuarabische Sprichwörter" (1901).

Properly interpreted, it is a rather accurate and painstaking description of a rural *gilit*-dialect; for best results, it should be read together with Weissbach's review of it,[6] which, no less than the material of Weissbach's *Beiträge* offers important emendations and an improved notation for the same dialect. Muslim Baghdadi, the dominant dialect, is the object of an excellent though partial description written in Arabic by the poet Ma^{c}rūf al-Ruṣāfī (1916-1918). Most of the phonology and morphology of the dialect are accurately and skillfully described in a series of articles, and are supplemented by the cogent comments of the editor, Père Anastase Marie de St. Elie. The articles by Jawād in the same periodical (1930), though of lesser interest, are a sort of continuation of al-Ruṣāfī's work after publication of the series was interrupted. Van Wagoner's unpublished dissertation (1944) describes the morphology of a somewhat similar *gilit*-dialect, that of a Ṣubbī (Mandean) speaker from the town of Qal^{c}at Ṣāliḥ (province of Amara); the description is competently handled, but the idiolect described (which is akin to, but far from identical with, Muslim Baghdadi) seems to have had an undue influence on Van Wagoner's textbook (see next section). Another descriptive work is Schramm's unpublished dissertation on Jewish Baghdadi (1954), a dialect which is spoken with few variations by the Jews of central and southern Iraq in general. The dissertation is couched in structural terms, and is based on relatively few tape recordings and some work with informants. Both in phonemicization and in the morphology of the verb, it is surpassed by Kohen's paper, done with unusual skill and insight by a native speaker with no special linguistic training. A number of accurate descriptive and comparative notes on Christian Baghdadi are appended by Ghanīma to his compilation of proverbs (1906); the dialect described by Oussani (1902), while not identified as such, is also essentially Christian Baghdadi, but the account is far less instructive than Ghanīma's notes. The Bedouin dialects described by Cantineau (cf. fn. 2 above) include the idioms of some tribes with important affiliates in Iraqi territory, notably Shammar and ^{c}Anaiza.

Textbooks

Van Wagoner's books (1949, 1958, 1960) remain the most adequate learning tool available so far. The lessons for the first volume are available on records. They follow the "inductive method" in vogue among American linguists. The material presented reflects, in part, Muslim Baghdadi usage, and contains some extraneous admixtures most of which are traceable to the dialect described by Van Wagoner in his dissertation. This accounts partly for a number of peculiarities in the transcription; some other deviations are not so easily accounted for, but none present unsurmountable obstacles if the student can have the help of a competent native teacher.[7] On the other hand, Van Ess' book (1938), despite its many printings, is of very limited value and can be used only with the greatest circumspection, as it presents poorly transcribed and inadequately identified variants from disparate sources, viz. Baghdad and Basra, Muslim and Christian, town and country, colloquial and classical. The Arabic Basic Course used at the Army Language School (1957) presents a generalized and classicized sort of Iraqi, apparently meant more as a stepping stone toward Arabic in general than a textbook for teaching a specific Iraqi dialect. Earlier manuals [Bahoshy (1918), Bérésine (1851), O'Leary (1925), Seresser (1918)] do not, despite their titles, offer much that is of help in the study of Iraqi Arabic.

Collections of Texts

Socin's collection (1882) is the earliest for the area as a whole, and to this day the only published texts for Mardin, now in Turkey, and the only extensive ones for Mosul. The texts are adequately transcribed and translated, with some in Arabic script as well; however, there are no explanatory notes to speak of and no details on informants. Meissner's (1901, 1902-1904, 1903) and Weissbach's (1916-1917, 1930) copious prose and poetical texts offer considerable and reliable material on Kwēriš in Central Iraq; interestingly enough, they stem almost entirely from a single informant, who worked extensively with both men over a period of years. The proverbs collected in his Central Iraqi village by Meissner (1901), in Mosul by Al-Dabbāgh (1956), in

Muslim Baghdad by Allen (1955), Alūsī (1956) and Thnayyan (1927), in Jewish Baghdad by Sassoon (1949, pp. 195-200) and Yahuda (1906) and in Christian Baghdad by Ghanīma (1926) are of considerable linguistic interest.

The folk tales collected by Stephens (Lady Drower) and in English translations only, but contain a number of rhymes, ditties and phrases in Arabic (1931); some of these add to the scanty published material on Christian Baghdadi. Blum's Jewish text (1927) is semi-literary, very poorly transcribed, and hence sheds little light on the dialect; Ram's Christian text (1907) is in very nearly literary Arabic and in Syriac script; it is of little interest except for some features of the vocalization, which is rather fully marked. Similarly, the various collections of poetic texts add little to our knowledge of the spoken language, from which their idiom deviates in many details; a very few of the author's comments are of linguistic interest.

Materials on Older Dialects

Some data on how Arabic was spoken in Iraq in former, especially ᶜAbbasid, times can be inferred from some of the philological and other works of the period; of these, three [Al-Ḥarīrī (1871), Al-Ṭāliqānī, Jawālīqī (1875)] have been listed here by way of illustration. A detailed investigation of these older data and their correlation with present-day dialects still remains to be carried out.

NOTES

1. The term "Iraq" here refers to the present political entity. In the literature cited, English language works use the term "Mesopotamia" before World War I for roughly the same area, the term "Iraq" appearing only after 1918; the same holds for French writers. In pre-1918 German works, the term "Mesopotamien" covers only the country of the Upper Euphrates and

Upper Tigris, roughly down to a line Falluja-Samarra, whereas the country south of that line is termed "Iraq" or "Babylonien". This twofold division, which is closely bound up with geography and history, is also that of the medieval Arab historians: *al-Jazīrah* (North) and *al-^{c}Irāq* (South).

2. Cf. Cantineau's *Etudes* and the Handbook of Kuwaiti Arabic.
3. Cf. his *Etudes*, pp. 226; his review of Van Wagoner's *Spoken Iraqi Arabic* in *BSL* 49.2.138-150 (1953); and his "La dialectologie arabe", *Orbis* 4.1-149-169, especially p. 152.
4. H. Fleisch, *Encyclopedia of Islam* 1.576 (1957).
5. The etymological study by al-Shabībī, which discusses the origin of eighty-six colloquial words, was not available to the writer; for a comment on it, see R. Blachère, *Arabica* 6.93 (1959).
6. *ZDMG* 58.931-948 (1904).
7. For a compilation of such earlier data concentrating on the dialects of the ancient tribes but not directly concerned with older Iraqi usage, cf. H. Kofler, "Reste Altarabischer Dialekte", *WZKM* 47.60-130, 232-262 (1940), 48.52-66, 247-274 (1945), 49.15-30, 234-256 (1946).

LIST OF TITLES

Al-Čalabi al-Mawṣili, D., 1935. *Al-āθār al-ārāmiya fī luğat al-Mawṣil al-^{c}āmmīya*. Mosul.

Al-Dabbagh, A.K., 1956. *Mu^{c}jam amthāl al-mawṣil al-^{c}āmmīyah*. 2 vols. Mosul.

Al-Ḥarīrī, Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ^{c}Alī, 1871. *Kitāb durrat al-ghawwāṣ fī awhām al-Khawāṣṣ*. Ed. Thorbecke. Leipzig.

Al-Jawālīqī, Abū Manṣūr Mawhūb b. Aḥmad, 1875. "Le livre des locutions vicieuses (Kitāb Khata' al-^{c}Awāmm)". Ed. H. Derenbourg. *Morgenländische Forschungen (Fleischer Festschrift)* 107-166. Leipzig.

Allen, A.B., 1955. "Some Iraqi Proverbs and Proverbian Phrases". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75.122-125.

Al-Najafī, A., 1929. "Kitāb qadīm fī al-ḥikāyāt al-^{c}āmmīyah". *Lughat al-^{c}arab* 7.393-397.

Al-Ruṣāfī, M., 1926-1928. "Daf^{c} al-murāq fī kalām ahl al-^{c}iraq" [titles varied for each installment]. *Lughat al-^{c}arab* 4.84-88, 140-146, 211-214, 333-335, 403-405, 522-525, 596-599 (1926); 5.94-96, 147-150, 457-459, 541-543 (1927); 6.203-207, 521-524, 603-608 (1928).

Al-Shabībī, M.R., 1956. *Uṣūl alfāẓ al-lahjah al-^{c}irāqīyah*. Baghdad.

Al-Tāliqānī, Abū al-Ḥasan ^{c}Alī b. al-Faḍl al-Mu^{c}ayyadī, n.d. *Risālat al-amthāl al-baghdādīyah allatī tajri bayn al-^{c}āmmah...* Ed. L. Massignon. Cairo.

Al-Toma, S.J., 1957. *The Teaching of Classical Arabic to Speakers of the Colloquial in Iraq: A study of the Problem of Linguistic Duality and Its Impact on Language Education*. Ed. D. thesis, Harvard University.

Alūsī, Ẓāfir, 1956. *Amthāl wa-aqwāl baghdādīyah*. Baghdad.

Bahoshy, J.N., 1918. *J.N. Bahoshy's Teacher: A Practical System of Learning Colloquial Arabic as Spoken in Messopotamia*. Baghdad and Cairo.

Bannerth, E., 1920. "Eine vulgärabische Erzählung über den Ursprung des Namens der Stadt Altyn Köprü". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 74.446-448.

Bérésine, O., 1857. *Guide du voyageur en Orient: Dialogues arabes d'après trois principaux dialectes, de Mésopotamie, de Syrie et d'Egypte*. Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Blum, S., 1927. *Qiṣṣah Mūsā: Ein Beitrag zum baghdadischen Dialekt des Neuarabischen*. Hanover.

Eilers, W., 1935. "Arabische Lieder aus dem Iraq". *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 10.234-255.

-----, 1942. *Zwölf arabische Vierzeiler mit Umschrift, Übersetzung und Erläuterungen*. Sammlung orientalischer Arbeiten, 10. Heft. Leipzig.

Ferguson, C.A. and F.A. Rice, 1960. "Iraqi Children's Rhymes". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80.335-340.

Ghanīma, Y., 1906. "Al-amthāl al-^{c}āmmīyah fī al-bilād al-^{c}irāqīyah". *Mashriq* 9.297-302.

-----, 1926. "Al-alfāẓ al-arāmīyah fī al-lughah al-^{c}āmmīyah al-^{c}irāqīyah". *Lughat al-^{c}arab* 4.265-274, 339-352, 406-410, 465-470, 531-532, 584-588.

Gudme, P. de H., 1938. "Arabic Excavation Terminology in Iraq and Syria". *Acta Orientalia* 16.105-130.

-----, 1949. "Workmen and Tools at Excavations in Iraq and Syria". *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti* 461-466. Rome.

Jawād, M., 1930. "Al-Lughah al-^{c}āmmīyah al-^{c}irāqīyah". *Lughat al-^{c}arab* 8.115-116, 119-200, 610-618.

Jeannier, A., 1888. "Lettre de M. Jeannier, chancelier du consulat de France à Baghdad, à M. Barbier de Ménard". *Journal asiatique* 8.331-348.

Kohen, H., n.d. *Ha-po^{c}al ba-dyalekt ha-yehudi ba-^{c}ir ^{c}Amāra*. School of Oriental Studies, Hebrew University. Jerusalem. [Manuscript]

Kremer, A. von, 1850. "Nachricht über den am linken Ufer des Tigris wohnenden Araberstamm der Beni Lam". *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 4.251-255.

Malik, A.P., 1956/57. "A Comparative Study of American English and Iraqi Arabic Consonant Clusters". *Language Learning* 7.65-87.

Mansour, J., 1956/57. "Hagiyat ha-resh be-fi yehudey bavel". *Leshonenu* 20.47-49.

-----, 1957. "The Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Baghdad and the Pronunciation of Hebrew". *Journal of Jewish Studies* 8.187-198.

Massignon, L., 1914. "Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Baghdad". *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 11.1-24.

Meissner, B., 1901. "Neuarabische Sprichwörter und Rätsel aus dem Irak". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 4.2.137-174.

-----, 1902-1904. "Neuarabische Gedichte aus dem Irak". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5.2.77-131 (1902); 6.2.57-125 (1903); 7.2.1-11 (1904).

-----, 1903. "Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Irak". *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 5.1.i-lviii, 1-48.

O'Leary, De Lacey, 1925. *Colloquial Arabic, with Notes on the Vernacular Speech of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia*. London.

Oppert, J., 1863. *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*. Vol. 1, pp. 113, ff. Paris.

Oussani, G., 1901. "The Arabic Dialect of Baghdad". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 22.67-114.

Ram, H., 1907. "Qiṣṣat Mār Elījā als Beitrag zur Kenntniss der arabischen Vulgärdialekte Mesopotamiens...". *Leipziger semitistische Studien* 2.3.i-vii, 1-20.

Ritter, H., 1919-1923. "Mesopotamische Studien". I, "Arabische Flussfahrzeuge auf Euphrat und Tigris", *Islam* 9.121-143 (1919); II, "Vierzig arabische Volkslieder", *Islam* 10.120-133 (1920); III, "Arabische Kriegspoesie aus Mesopotamien und dem Irak", *Islam* 13.267-277 (1923).

Sachau, E., 1889. *Arabische Volkslieder aus Mesopotamien*. Berlin.

Salīm, Sh. M., 1956. *Ich-chibāyish: Dirāsah anthropolojīyah li-qaryah fī ahwār al-^{c}irāq*. Baghdad.

Sassoon, D.S., 1949. *A History of the Jews in Baghdad*. Lechworth.

Schramm, G.M., 1954. *Judeo-Baghdadi: A Descriptive Analysis of the Colloquial Arabic of the Jews of Baghdad*. Ph.D. thesis, Dropsie College.

Seresser, N.B., 1918. *Mesopotamian Arabic*. Bombay.

Socin, A., 1882. "Der arabische Dialekt von Mosul und Merdin". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 36.4-12, 26-53, 237-277.

-----, 1882b. *Die neuaramäischen Dialekte von Urmia bis Mosul*. Tübingen. (Pages 127-159 include a partial translation of Neo-Aramaic songs into the Arabic of the Mosul region)

Stephens, E.S., 1931. *Folk Tales of Iraq*. Oxford.

U.S. Army Language School, 1957. *Arabic Basic Course (Spoken Arabic)*. 2 volumes. Presidio of Monterey, California.

Van Ess, J., 1917. *The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia*. London.

-----, 1938. *The Spoken Arabic of Iraq*. London. [2nd edition of Van Ess 1917. 4th printing, 1944.]

Van Wagoner, M.Y., 1944. *A Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. Ph.D. thesis, Yale University.

-----, 1949, 1958, 1960. *Spoken Iraqi Arabic*. I, New York (1949) [with records]; Key to the Exercises, New York (1960); II, Washington (1958) [mimeographed]

Weissbach, F.H., 1930. *Beiträge zur Kunde des Irak-Arabischen*. Leipziger semitistische Studien 4. [Part I also appeared separately, Leipzig (1908). Part II also appeared as a number of articles in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 3-5 (1924-1927)]

-----, 1916-1917. "Zwei arabische Lieder aus Babylonien". *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 233-244.

Yahuda, A.S., 1906. "Bagdadische Sprichwörter". *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet* 2.399-416. Giessen.

North African Arabic Studies by T. B. Irving

Introduction

Dialect studies in North Africa differ substantially from those in other Arab areas, since Europeans have observed the language of the Maghrib longer, with material going back several centuries. Among the highlights of this long history of linguistic study, we must mention the works of the grammarian Pedro de Alcalá, who in the early sixteenth century turned his talents to the local dialect of Granada (closely related to the Maghrib dialects of North Africa) in his *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga* (1928a), and also in a word-list, *Vocabulario arávigo en letra castellana* (1928b). At a much later period, the Austrian Dombay contributed his noteworthy *Grammatica Linguae Mauroarabicae juxta Vernaculi* (1800); but works of permanent value began to appear in large numbers only in the nineteenth century. Lerchundi's *Rudimentos de árabe vulgar* (1945) and his *Vocabulario español-arábigo de Marruecos* (1933) have passed through successive printings for almost a century. German scholars such as Socin, Stumme, and Kampffmeyer made many valuable contributions; Stumme's *Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch, nebst Glossar* (1896a) is still standard. Finally, the speech of Libya was the subject of much Italian work before World War I.

The discussions that follow deal mainly, though not exclusively, with publications that have appeared since World War I.

General and Comparative Studies

The most concise statement with which to begin direct study of North African Arabic is Philippe Marçais's article on "The Western Dialects" which appears in the newest edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.[1] Marçais discusses how Arabic came to North Africa, its characteristics, e.g. accentuation on the last syllable and loss of vowels, innovations in syntax like the evolution of a true indefinite article, varying expressions for possession, prefixes in the imperfect aspect of the verb, and borrowings and semantic shifts in vocabulary.

Although the North African dialects are relatively homogeneous and constitute a true linguistic area, there are regional variations, and useful general studies exist for several regions.

There are, for example, a number of good general studies on Moroccan Arabic. Colin's article about "L'arabe" in Initiation au Maroc (1945) is a regional survey which goes back to the pre-Hilāli period. City speech is compared with Jewish, mountain, and Bedouin speech, as well as literature in the dialects, while the influence of Classical Arabic and Spanish is discussed. Grammar has been more intensively studied than vocabulary, and city speech more than that of the countryside. Brunot's "Etat actuel des études de dialectologie arabe au Maroc" (1920a), though written forty years ago, has a bibliography and explains what can be done in the field; while Ibáñez' "Mosaico lingüístico de Marruecos español" (1947) gives a popular summary plus a linguistic map of the former Spanish protectorate.[2] Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Mercier's Manuel d'arabe marocain (1914) has a valuable historical and geographical introduction, plus a list of Spanish words found in Moroccan vocabulary and a discussion of Berber dialects.

More than superficial study of Algerian Arabic has been relatively rare. Cantineau's "Géographie linguistique des parlers arabes algériens" (1936) provided a basis for subsequent scholarship. Mme. Ostroya-Doma's "Notes préliminaires à l'étude des parlers arabes de l'arrondissement de Philippeville" (1938) contains fine isoglottic charts for the speech along the northeastern seaboard of Algeria. A trilogy of articles by Cantineau covers Algeria (1937, 1939, 1940), although the one on the district around Algiers is much too short; the one on Constantine has a good map, while the best is on the Oran region - evidently he gained experience with each survey. We might also mention Millon's "Les parlers de la région d'Alger" (1937), though it too is brief. Philippe Marçais's article "Les parlers arabes" (1957) for Initiation à l'Algérie is inferior, but has a good map showing the distribution of Algerian Arabic; its inconsistent phonemics may be the fault of the general editors. Extremely important is Pérès' posthumous L'arabe dialectal algérien et saharien (1959), which is an analytical bibliography prepared from notes left by this scholar.

Tunisia and Libya are even more poorly supplied with general studies: Two very brief articles by William Marçais may be cited: "Les parlers arabes" in the volume Initiation à la Tunisie (1950b) and his wartime survey "Les parlers arabes du Fezzan" (1945) for the French Institute of Saharan Research.

Dictionaries

There are a number of useful dictionaries and word-lists for Moroccan. Alcalá's Vocabularista (1928b) and Lerchundi's Vocabulario (1933) have already been mentioned. The former is of considerable historical interest[3] and the latter, whatever its shortcomings, is the standard Arabic-Spanish dictionary for Moroccan. Besides Lerchundi, we have Gasselin's Dictionnaire français-arabe (1880), which was compiled at Mogador in both classical and popular speech. Tedjini's pair of Moroccan dictionaries (1925, 1948) are respectively French-Arabic and Arabic-French; the latter has a preface by Brunot. Ferré's Lexique marocain-français can be matched by Sicard's Vocabulaire (1934) or Mercier (1959), which are French-Moroccan. These are all solid dictionaries. Brunot's Glossaire judéo-arabe de fès (1940) is carefully compiled but, in view of its dialect, is less useful than the glossary in his Textes arabes de Rabat (1931-1952). Benéitez Cantero's Vocabulario español-árabe marroquî (1948) clings to Spanish spelling; a different approach is found in Ḥakīm's Glosario (1953) which contains Spanish borrowings into Moroccan.

The French have published a multiplicity of special studies like Brunot's "Noms des vêtements masculins", "Notes lexicologiques sur le vocabulaire maritime" and "Topographie dialectale de Rabat" (1925, 1920b, 1930); Pianel's "Sobriquets marocains" (1950b) on the choice of surnames; and Colin's "Etymologies magribines" (1926). For Shinqīt whe have Rescher's "Eine lexicographische Liste" (1918), Basset's glossary in his "Notes sur le Hassania" (1910) and Pierret's "Etude" (1948).

In Algeria, the standard work has long been Beaussier (1958) which has gone through several printings which rendered it hard to read. It was revised in 1931 by Mohammed Ben-Cheneb and should be consulted in connection with Lentin's recent Supplément (1960) and the elder Marçais's "Quelques observations" (1905). Ben-Sedira's dictionary (1954) was first published in 1910; it has an accompanying grammar and a matching Dictionnaire arabe-français (1956). Another pair is Carbonnel's.

The first dictionary of Tunisian was Nicholas' (1938a, 1938b), with both Arabic-French and French-Arabic sections, although Stumme's grammar (1896a) had a glossary at the end. Boris published a Lexique du parler arabe des Marāzig (1958) on the speech of southern Tunisia, which lies close to Libya. See also Gateau's "Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie" (1946) for another specialized vocabulary. For Libyan, word-lists are contained in Griffini (1913) and Curotti (1933).

Each region of North Africa shows outside lexical influence: for instance, the Arabic spoken in Libya has been affected by Turkish and Italian, while Tunisia and Algeria fell under Turkish and French influence; and Morocco, especially in the North and along the coast, has borrowed from Spanish and Portuguese. The whole area has been under Berber influence since prehistoric times. However, most research in this field has been superficial, and surprisingly, the French element has been the least observed. Some studies of the subject are: Ben-Cheneb's Mots turcs et persans (1922), Ḥakīm's Glosario (1953), Mercier's "Influence des langues berbère et espagnole" (1906), Pellat's "Sur deux emprunts au berbère par l'arabe" (1950), and Marcel Cohen's "Ponctuations du discours empruntées au français" (1937).[4]

William Marçais' "L'euphémisme et l'antiphrase dans les dialectes arabes d'Algérie" (1906) and his "Nouvelles observations" (1953) deal with semantics. The latter article is much more complete, and discusses the changes which occur in the meanings of words because of taboos concerned with women, sex, spirits and the evil eye, illness and death, concepts like good or bad luck, avoidance of animals like dogs, pigs or donkeys, and also mentions purposeful alterations, such as giving "black" for "white", "light" for "beauty", foreign borrowings, and similar changes. Especially penetrating is the section (pp. 391 ff.) on the renewal of vocabulary through the use of euphemisms. Pianel's "Notes sur quelques argots arabes au Maroc" (1950a) and Roux's "Quelques argots arabes et berbères du Maroc" (1936a) concern slang. Many articles in this field, however, are amateurish, and research generally displays neither imagination nor a scientific approach.

We badly need a general, comprehensive English-Arabic, Arabic-English dictionary for North African speech including main regional variants. One on the Moroccan dialect is in progress at the Arabic Research Program at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., but the other regions need to be surveyed. There is nothing in English covering the whole area except the War Department manual (1943), which is a very sketchy word-list of Moroccan, Algerian and Libyco-Tunisian.

Descriptive Studies

The best general descriptive study of any variety of North African Arabic to date is Philippe Marçais' *Le parler arabe de Djidjelli* (1958), which offers comprehensive, detailed coverage of the dialect of Djidjelli, a town north of Constantine. Previous important descriptive works include William Marçais' *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen* (1902), his "Le dialecte arabe des Ūlâd Brāhîm de Saʿida" (1906-1909), Marcel Cohen's excellent study *Le parler arabe des juifs d'Alger* (1912), and Stumme's *Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch* (1896a), which has already been mentioned. For Tunisian, Clermont's *L'arabe parlé tunisien* (1909) and Crussard and Chergui's *Manuel* (1910) are also of some value. Professor Jelloûli Farès, who worked under William Marçais on his native dialect of Ḥamma near Gabès (1931, 1932, 1933), may eventually be encouraged to publish his own studies, although he is now busy as Speaker of the National Assembly; while another group under Professor Mohamed Mazāli, who edits the monthly magazine *Al-Fikr*, has also been discussing language and grammar.

The workers on Libyan have been chiefly Italian: Farina (1912), Trombetti (1913), and Griffini (1913) are older works; Curotti's *Il* *dialetto libico* (1933) is a grammar with exercises, conversations, and idioms, and most important, a word-list; we may also mention Cesaro's *L'arabo parlato a Tripoli* (1939), Ester Panetta's companion to this, *L'arabo parlato a Bengasi* (1943a) in two volumes, the first containing texts, translation and notes, the second a grammar, Ducati's *Grammatica pratica della lingua araba parlata in Tripolitania* (1933), and Iannota's *L'arabo parlato in Cirenaica* (1933) with grammar, vocabulary, and exercises in Bedouin prose and verse.

The earliest research on the Arabic of Mauritania was Faidherbe's *Langues sénégalaises* (1887), with "notions" of grammar plus a phrase-book and vocabulary in French spelling. Kampffmeyer's "Materialen" (1899b) studied the Bedouin dialects further inland; Basset's "Notes sur le Hassania" (1910) gives texts and a glossary, and describes the influence of Arabic on the other languages of Senegal. Aḥmad Shinqīṭi's *Al-Wasīṭ fī tarājim 'udabā' Shinqīṭ* (1911), which treats the culture of these southern Moroccans, has been translated recently into French (1953), but the translation omits the linguistic material which is in the original. Finally, Pierret's *Etudes du dialecte maure* (1948) provides a careful grammar, vocabulary, texts and a dictionary of Ḥasaniyya.

A number of specialized studies in the phonology of North African Arabic have appeared. The first important work was August Fischer's *Zur Lautlehre des marokkanisch-Arabischen* (1917), which among other points dealt with emphatic [ṭ] and [ḍ], and contrasted Spanish [s] with Maghribi [š]. Fischer had already discussed stress in "Zum Wortton im Marokkanischen" (1899). Then Doutté's "Un texte arabe en dialecte oranais" (1903) offered valuable observations on phonetics and grammar, while Blanc described stress in Moroccan in his "Deux contes" (1906a). Kampffmeyer's important "Untersuchungen über den Ton in Arabischen" (1908) dealt particularly with Morocco and Spain. Zellig Harris' "The Phonemes of Moroccan Arabic" (1942), which attempted an analysis of Casablanca Arabic, was challenged by Cantineau with the help of Colin in "Réflexions sur la phonologie de l'arabe marocain" (1950), and both articles should be read together. Cantineau takes issue with much of Harris' analysis and along with some questionable criticism provides much useful information; it is a valuable corrective to Harris' article.

Philippe Marçais' "L'articulation de l'emphase dans un parler arabe maghrébin" (1948) is the best instrumental study of emphasis in Arabic (apart from some recent work with sound spectrographs). Cantineau's "Analyse phonologique du parler arabe d'el-Ḥāmme de Gabès" (1951) is a detailed structural description presented in the terminology and approach of the Prague school.

Relatively little has been written about the morphology or syntax of North African Arabic. Apart from the full studies listed above there are articles such as Colin's "Quelques 'emprunts' de morphèmes étrangers..." (1947) which deals with suffixes like the Spanish augmentative *-ón* as this occurs in patronymics like Ḥafsūn and Khaldūn, or Turkish *-ji* in Moroccan and Algerian, as well as influences from Berber and Romance; and his "L'opposition du réel et de l'éventuel en arabe marocain" (1935), which treats of innovating aspects like the particles *ka-* and *la-*[5] and the new indefinite article produced from *wāḥid*. Brunot's "Sur le thème f^{c}āl en dialectal marocain" (1950) deals with the morphology of a few verbal "measures". August Fischer's "Eine interessante algierische-marokkanische Genetivumschreibung" (1907) and Philippe Marçais' "Remarque sur un fait syntaxique du parler arabe d'el-Milia" (1936) go into the periphrastic expression of possession to be observed in many dialects. Marçais gives a table for these substitutes for the genitive throughout North Africa. Mitchell's "The Active Participle in an Arabic Dialect of Cyrenaica" (1952) gives detailed information in a structural frame of the morphology and syntax of the active participle in another region.[6]

For North African Arabic we have a number of special phonological or grammatical studies of earlier Arabic. Henri Pérès' "L'arabe dialectal en espagne musulmane" (1950), Colin's "Un document nouveau" (1931) and "Notes de dialectologie" (1930b) concern the twelfth century. Colin's "Les voyelles de disjonction dans l'arabe de Grenade au XVe siècle" (1928) is based on Alcalá (1928a, 1928b), while Alarcón's "Carta de Abenaboo" (1915) is from this same later period. Steiger's *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe* (1932) has long been standard. Harlie L. Smith's thesis on *The Phonology of Arabic Loan Words in Old Spanish* (1953) is on a later period, when the borrowings were undergoing change (as are Colin's "Les voyelles de disjonction dans l'arabe de Grenade au XVe siècle" (1928) and "Un document nouveau sur l'arabe dialectal d'occident au XIIe siècle" (1931) which have already been mentioned) but we might add here Galmés' Influencias sintácticas y estilísticas del árabe en la prosa medieval castellana (1956) and my own "The Spanish Reflexive and the Verbal Sentence" (1952) and "Completion and Becoming in the Spanish Verb" (1953). Arabic influence on Spanish syntax has been pervasive but is largely unrecognized (in contrast to the influence on vocabulary) by Hispanists.

Textbooks

Most studies written before World War II have already been mentioned, and are in any case unavailable, so we shall concentrate on those published thereafter, especially ones which might be usefully translated into English. Let us begin with general texts brought out in Algeria, followed by Morocco and then Tunisia, although Morocco is actually better supplied with materials.

There is a plethora of grammars in French; the trouble is to find any that can be adapted for American students. The most prolific series in both classical and colloquial has been Mohammed Soualah's, whose name can be followed through the bibliography at the end of this study. Tapiéro's Manuel (1958) gives generally spoken Algerian with phonetic diagrams; the Djidjellis have another recent text, Premier livre d'arabe dialectal (1958), while Chérif-Zahar's Enaphone (1959) promises most for adaptation. The latter consists of six 45rpm records with accompanying pamphlets in an awkward French transcription. Still, it is the most useful course to date, giving excellent colloquial speech with clear voices, although the conversations seem intended chiefly for dealing with servants. The first two records should be done over, but since the last four are spoken entirely in Arabic, they only need a fresh English manual with phonemic transcription.[7] Cleeman (1954) and Dhina (1956) are for primary schools.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes and L. Mercier's Manuel d'arabe marocain (1914) has a valuable introduction and lists Spanish words found in Moroccan as well as describing the influence of Berber dialects.

Ben-Daoud's *L'arabe dialectal marocain* (1927) was done with L. Brunot, while the latter's *Introduction à l'arabe marocain* (1947) for adults has a bibliography and preface on the development of North African Arabic, plus a map and vocabulary. H. Mercier's *Grammaire arabe* (1945) is simplified for beginners, while his *L'arabe par l'image* (1946) consists of illustrated stories for high school students. Harrell's *Lessons in Colloquial Moroccan* (1959) is an English version of Nekrouf's *Méthode active*, but it is multilithed and not yet ready for sale because of copyright difficulties. Lakhdar's *Pour apprendre la langue arabe* (1958) is short, but seems good. The Saheb-Ettabas' *Arabic Made Easy* (1959) should be mentioned; it is of limited value.[8] This book, in Moroccan Arabic, is available and cheap; but it would be better advertised for the dialect it is. Majed F. Sa'id's *Spoken Moroccan Arabic* (1955) is multilithed and contains fifteen (plus six) lessons in the dialect of Rabat.[9] Houdas's chrestomathy (1891) is out of date, but Colin's (1955) has been adapted in part for English-speaking students by Richard S. Harrell under the title of *A Moroccan Arabic Reader* (1960), though there is still no glossary to this English edition. Half of it is accompanied by notes and translation. A set of three manuals to teach handwriting in the primary schools of the former Spanish zone of Morocco by Muḥammad as-Sūsi called *Ṭarīqat taᶜlīm al-khaṭṭ* (1949) would be useful for foreigners; Maghribi penmanship is not colloquial speech, but it is an important regional feature of Arabic that causes difficulties.

The first Tunisian textbooks were Clermont (1909, 1948), Crussard and Chergui (1910), and Jourdain (1913); the latter has a new edition (Jourdain 1956). My own *Conversational Practice in Tunisian Arabic* (1959) is a dittoed text with twenty taped lessons; *Tunisian Drill Material* to accompany this is now being prepared by Hachemi Saᶜāda at the University of Minnesota. Renon's *La vivante grammaire* is meant for children. For Libya, besides those texts already mentioned, we have Crawford's *The Spoken Arabic of Tripoli, Libya*, twenty mimeographed and taped lessons for the Foreign Service Institute, Department of State, and Benedict's *Cyrenaican Arabic* (1959) for the same institution, with twelve units, and a fresh edition planned.[10]

We have thus seen that North African Arabic is well provided with texts in French and some in Spanish and Italian, but there is an urgent demand for suitable textbooks in English. Sa'id's and Harrell's Moroccan texts should be printed, the Enaphone records adapted for Algerian, and Tunisian and Libyan manuals like Sa^{c}āda's and the Foreign Service Institute ones made available. It is a pity that so many of these texts are mimeographed and hence both hard to find and ephemeral.

Collections of Texts

The earliest reliable collections of texts in the popular dialects of North Africa were assembled in Tunisia by the Germans. The first piece we should mention is Hans Stumme's *Tunisische Märchen und Gedichte*, stories and songs he collected in the capital and published in 1893; his careful monograph *Tripolitanische-tunisische Beduinen-Lieder* (1894); and his "Neue tunisische Sammlungen" (1896b) with folklore texts and a glossary; later he edited *Märchen und Gedichte aus der Stadt Tripoli in Nordafrika* (1898). Other German works are Kampffmeyer's "Südalgerische Studien" (1905), which gives parallel transcriptions and translations with some proverbs and riddles, plus a grammatical commentary; "Texte aus Fes, mit einem Text aus Tanger" (1909) in Maghribi script with romanization and a German translation; and "Materialen zum Studium der arabischen Beduinendialekte Inner-Afrikas" (1899b). Meissner's "Neuarabische Geschichten aus Tanger" (1905) are transcribed texts with a German translation; while Klingenheben's "Texte im arabischen Dialekt von Larasch" (1927) are based on Alarcón's *Textos árabes* (1913), with both a Muslim and a Jewish informant.[11] See also Ḥakīm's *Folklore infantil* (1959), an Arabic text from the Rif area, with Spanish translation.

The French have indulged in much "folklorism", prolific but of thin quality. The first in the field was Bresnier, whose *Anthologie arabe élementaire* came out in 1852, with facsimile texts and a vocabulary; later we have Houdas' *Chrestomathie maghribine* (1891) and Delphin (1904); but there are few serious studies until Doutté's "Un texte arabe en dialecte oranais" (1903), appearing (significantly) in the Mémoires of the Linguistic Society of Paris; he gives Arabic script, romanization and notes, with a French translation and observations on phonetics and grammar. There is also Gaudefroy-Demombynes' "Récit en dialecte tlemcenien" (1904) with Arabic text, translation, and good notes; and passing into Morocco, Marchand's "Contes en dialecte marocain" (1905), translated with notes, and collected chiefly in Larache, though also in Tangier and Rabat. Blanc's "Deux contes marocains en dialecte de Tanger" and "El Ma^{c}ani" (1906a, 1906b) gives Arabic, romanization, then French with notes; he deals also with stress in Moroccan. Joly's articles on modern songs and poetry among Algerian nomads are scattered through the *Revue Africaine* (1900-1904, 1909a, 1909b) at the turn of the century, giving most genres with Arabic text and French translation. Destaing's *Textes arabes en parler des Chleuhs du Sous* (1940), Lévi-Provençal's *Textes arabes de l'Ouargha* (1922) and Loubignac's *Textes arabes des Zaër* (1952) are different regions of Morocco, generally transcribed and translated, with a glossary. Brunot's *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès* (1939), with Malka, and *Textes arabes de Rabat* (1931-1952), alone, give careful transcription and annotated translations. Colin's *Recueil de textes en arabe marocain* (1942) offers fifty transcribed pages; and Mercier's *La politesse arabe au Maroc* (1957) includes common expressions which increase the book's linguistic worth. William Marçais' *Textes arabes de Tanger* (1911) and his later "Trois textes arabes d'el-Ḥâmme de Gabès" (1931, 1932, 1933) in southern Tunisia, with the help of Professor Farès, are texts in dialect but with a classicized analysis. We have also Biarnay's *Notes d'ethnographie* (1924) with some texts and a glossary; Dhina's *Textes arabes du sud algérois* (1940); and Hamidou's "Aperçu sur la poésie vulgaire de Tlemcen" (1936) and "Devinettes populaires de Tlemcen" (1937), both wretchedly transcribed. Philippe Marçais' "Textes arabes de Djidjelli" (1954) is important for dialectology; it gives script, transliteration, and French translation, plus a glossary.

For Tunisia, we have Narbeshuber's *Aus dem Leben des arabischen Bevölkerung in Sfax* (1907) in Arabic script with romanization and a German translation; Stuhlmann's *Die Mâzigh Völker* (1914) on the ethnography of southern Tunisia; Marçais and Guiga's *Textes arabes de Takroûna* (1925) in Maghribi script with transcriptions and annotated translation, and collected at Enfidaville in Tunisia; and Boris' *Documents linguistiques et ethnographiques* (1951) from the south, in Arabic script with romanization and French translation, plus a map and glossary. Clermont's *Le dialecte tunisien* (1938) contains stories and sayings which describe Tunisian folkways by presenting Arabic texts alongside French translation. Giacobetti's *Recueil d'énigmes arabes populaires* (1916) (this is in Algerian) and Quéméneur's "En décortiquant les amandes" (1945) are riddles in Arabic script with transliteration and French translation. As for Libyan texts, there is Panetta's *Pratiche e credenza popolari libiche* (1940) from Benghazi, with translation, and her *Forme e soggeti della letteratura popolare libica* (1943b) with texts in transcription.

On music, Sonneck's *Chants arabes du Maghreb* (1902) gave Arabic texts plus translation, notes and a glossary; while Littman's "Le chant de la belle-mère" appeared the next year with Arabic and translation. A. Fischer's *Das Liederbuch eines marokkanischen Sängers* (1918) gives manuscripts in colloquial Moroccan; the singer is Drīs Laḥrīshi [Idrīs al-Ḥarīshi] from the Zerhān mountains northwest of Fas, while his informant was ᶜAbjullāh al-Drīsi ash-Shbīhi. Jeanne Jouin's "Chants et jeux maternels à Rabat" (1950) gives many nursery rhymes and children's verses. We conclude with Muḥammad Bu-Khūsha's (or Bekkoucha's) *Kitāb al-ḥubb wal-maḥbūb* (1939), published in Tilimsān, which contains popular Moroccan and Algerian lovesongs.[12]

Further Needs

It is now time to take stock on what is needed for further study in North African Arabic. First of all, we need pedagogical materials, especially a general dictionary of North African to cover all the dialects, both English-Arabic and Arabic-English.[13] We also need grammars of each major region, notably Algeria and Tunisia, since

Sa'id and Harrell have begun to take care of Moroccan. The Enaphone records are possibilities for Algerian, Sa^{c}āda for Tunisian and the Foreign Service Institute texts for Libyan.

Later we can tackle scientific research: the influence of other languages, dialectal changes, the phonemics of western Arabic, overall and by regions. Much remains to be done in dialectology and phonology; for instance, the European names of the months in North Africa are neither modern Spanish nor French, but possibly from an earlier Romance layer. This research may be fostered by the reviving colleges of Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco, or the University of Algiers. We need more information about the Arab press: there is no Arabic newspaper in the city of Algiers, for instance, nor any non-French learned societies to promote these matters.

NOTES

1. Pp. 578-582. Other general articles are Kampffmeyer's "Arabic Dialects" in the earlier edition of the same encyclopedia, Cantineau (1955), Landberg (1905), and Brockelmann (1954), which, while general, is concise, and gives bibliography throughout the text. Biarnay's "Notes" (1924) give texts with a glossary.
2. The map in this magazine article is not in color, as it is in his Berber dictionary (1944).
3. In 1928, this vocabulary was included as a second part to the facsimile edition published by the Hispanic Society of New York. See Ricard's "Remarques" (1928) where it is stated that not many Spanish loan words were included because Alcalá was trying to use pure Arabic terms.
4. Stumme's study of Arabic, Persian and Turkish (1902) has some mention of Maghribi forms; Rittwagen's *De filología hispano-arábiga* (1909) contains an essay plus a word-list on Arabic influence on Spanish; and Ben-Oliel's "Dialecto judío-hispano-marroquí" (1926-28) wanders through three volumes of the *Boletín* of the Royal Spanish Academy.

5. The latter emphatic particle seems to bear a resemblance to the *re-* or *requete-* of contemporary Spanish.

6. I have not been able to consult the elder Marçais's "L'alternance vocalique *a-u* (*a-i*) au parfait régulier (1ère forme) dans le arabe de Tanger" (1912).

7. The U.S. War Department put out the only other recordings available in 1943 (1943b) with some valid though vulgar comparisons, while generally the transcription in unsystematic. Accompanying records cover a wide range of Eastern and Western dialects, including Libyan.

8. *Initiation à l'arabe* (1954) is stated to be Moroccan, and is presumably a French original of the preceding.

9. Martin's *Méthode déductive* is mixed classical and colloquial; Aldecoa and Tedjini's *Cours d'arabe marocain* (1938-41) is a school text which begins with the script; Tedjini's *Manuel de conversation* (1941) is a small manual in romanized Arabic; Sans's *Apprenons l'arabe* is by a teacher at Casablanca. Machordom Comin's *Método español-arabe* (1954) and Peregrín's *Método PP* (1944) are Spanish manuals.

10. The Shell Oil Company has encouraged some linguistic work on Libyan Arabic, but only in mineographed form, and based on Van Wagoner's Iraqi manual.

11. This was reviewed by Colin in *Hespéris* 8.123-6 (1938).

12. Professor Bu-Khūsha also published *Adab al-maghāribah wa-ḥayātuhum al-ijtimā^{c}iyyah wad-dīniyyah wa-ba^{c}ḍ kharāfātihim* (1943) later in Casablanca, containing selections in Arabic on manners and customs.

13. A Moroccan dictionary is now being prepared at the Arabic Research Program in Washington, D.C.

LIST OF TITLES

Akim, see Ḥakīm

Alarcón y Santón, Maximiliano, 1913. *Textos árabes en dialecto vulgar de Larache*. Madrid.

-----, 1915. "Carta de Abenaboo en árabe granadino (estudio dialectal)". Madrid.

Alcalá, Pedro de, 1928a. *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga*. New York. [Photostatic copy of first edition (1505)]

-----, 1928b. *Vocabularista arávigo en letra castellana*. [Word-list bound with his *Arte*, above]

de Aldecoa, M. and Belqacem Tedjini, 1938-1941. *Cours d'arabe marocain*. 2 vols. Paris.

American Council of Learned Societies, 1944. *Mukhtārāt min al-adab al-^{c}arabī; an Arabic Chrestomathy for Advanced Students*. Washington, D.C.

Arévalo, Rafael, 1908. *Método práctico para hablar el árabe marroquí*. Tangier.

Asín Palacios, Miguel, 1944. *Contribución a la toponimia árabe de España*. Madrid-Granada.

-----, 1950. *Crestomatía de árabe literal con glosario y elementos de gramática*. 4th ed. Madrid.

Baldwin, C.W., 1893. *English-Arabic Dialogues for the Use of Students in Morocco*. Tangier-London.

Barbour, Nevill, 1959. *A Survey of North-West Africa (the Maghrib)*. Oxford.

Basset, René M.J., 1903. *Contes populaires d'Afrique*. Paris.

-----, 1910. "Notes sur le hassania". *Mission au Sénégal*. Publications of the Faculty of Letters, Algeria. 39.283-434. Paris.

-----, 1915. *La littérature populaire berbère et arabe dans le Maghreb et chez les maures d'Espagne*. Paris.

Beaussier, Marcelin, 1958. *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français, contenant tous les mots parlés en Algérie et en Tunisie*. Revised edition. Algiers. [New ed. by M. ben-Cheneb, 1931]

Beguinot, Francesco, 1947. "Recenti studi italiani sulla letteratura popolare cirenaici". *Oriente Moderno* 27.117-123.

Bekkoucha, see Bukhūsha.

Bel, Alfred, 1903. "La djàzya, chanson arabe". *Journal Asiatique* 311-366.

Bellemare, Alexandre, 1858. *Grammaire arabe (idiome d'Algérie) à l'usage de l'armée et des employés civils*. Paris.

Ben-Cheneb, Mohammed, 1905. *Proverbes arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb, recueillis, traduits et commentés*. 3 vols. Paris.

-----, 1922. *Mots turcs et persans conservés dans le parler algérien*. Algiers.

-----, 1928. "Quelques adages algériens". *Mémorial* to H. Basset 1.43-68.

Ben-Cheneb, Saadeddine, 1946. *Les contes d'Alger*. Algiers.

Ben-Daoud, Mohammed, 1927. *L'arabe dialectal marocain* [With L. Brunot]. Rabat.

[Benedict, W.C.], 1959. *Cyrenaican Arabic*. Washington, D.C.

Benéitez Cantero, Valentín, 1948. *Vocabulario español-árabe marroquí*. Tetuan.

Ben-Oliel, José, 1926-28. "Dialecto judío-hispano-marroquí o Hakitía". *Boletín*, Real Academia Española. Vols. 13-15, *passim*.

Ben-Sedira, Belkassem, 1954. *Dictionnaire français-arabe de la langue parlée en Algérie*. Algiers. [With accompanying grammar]

-----, 1956. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Alger.

Ben-Smaïl, 1928. *Méthode pratique d'arabe parlé marocain à l'usage des débutants*. 3rd rev. ed.

Bercher, Léon, 1944. *Lexique français-arabe avec un index arabe-français correspondent*. 2nd ed. Algiers.

Biarnay, S., 1924. *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*. Paris.

Biberstein Kazimirski, A.de, 1860. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris. [New ed. 1960]

Birkeland, Harris, 1954. *Stress Patterns in Arabic*. Oslo.

Blachère, Régis, 1952. *Eléments de l'arabe classique*. Paris.

Blanc, L.-R., 1906a. "Deux contes marocains en dialecte de Tanger". *Archives Marocaines* 7.415-439. Paris.

-----, 1906b. "El Ma^{c}ani, conte en dialecte marocain de Tanger". *Archives Marocaines* 6.168-182. Paris.

Bled de Braine, J.-F., 1846. *Cours synthétique, analytique et pratique de la langue arabe*. Paris.

Boris, Gilbert, 1951. *Documents linguistiques et ethnographiques sur une région du Sud Tunisien (Nefzaoua)*. Paris.

-----, 1958. *Lexique de parler arabe des marāzig*. Paris.

Bresnier, L.-J., 1838. "Esquisse de la langue arabe parlée à Alger". *Journal Asiatique* 589-612.

-----, 1852. *Anthologie arabe elémentaire*. *Choix de maximes et de de textes variés, la plupart inédits*. Paris-Algiers.

-----, 1915. *Cours pratique et théorique de langue arabe*. Algiers.

Brockelmann, Carl, 1954. "Das Arabische und seine Mundarten". *Handbuch des Semitistik* 3.207-245. Leiden.

Brunot, Louis, 1918. *Textes en arabe du dialecte de Rabat*. Fās.

-----, 1920a. "Etat actuel des études de dialectologie arabe au Maroc". *Bulletin* de l'Institut des hautes études marocaines. 1.92-106.

-----, 1920b. "Notes lexicologiques sur le vocabulaire maritime de Rabat et Salé". *Publications* de l'Institut des hautes études marocaines. Paris.

-----, 1925. "Noms des vêtements masculins à Rabat". *Mélanges*. Paris.

-----, 1930. "Topographie dialectale de Rabat". *Hespéris* 10.7-13.

-----, 1931-1952. *Textes arabes de Rabat*. 2 vols. Paris.

-----, 1934. *Premiers conseils (pour les maîtres des écoles musulmans)*. Rabat.

-----, 1940. *Glossaire judéo-arabe de fès*. Rabat.

-----, 1947. *Introduction à l'arabe marocain*. Paris.

-----, 1950. "Sur le thème f^{c}āl en dialectal marocain". *Mélanges* to Wm. Marçais. 55-62.

-----, and Elie Malka, 1939. *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*. Rabat.

Bū-Kamākh, Aḥmad, 1956. *Iqrā'*. Tangier.

Bu-Khūsha, Muḥammad [Mohammed Bekkoucha], 1939. *Kitāb al-ḥubb waal-ḥubūb* (Poèmes érotiques). Tilimsān.

-----, 1943. *Adab al-maghāribah wa-ḥayātuhum al-ijtimā^{c}iyya wad-dīniyyah wa-ba^{c}ḍ kharāfātihim* (Savoir-vivre; vie sociale y religieuse des marocains, Folklore). 2nd ed. Casablanca.

Buret, M.T., 1952. *Cours gradué d'arabe marocain*. Casablanca.

Cantineau, Jean, 1936. "Géographie linguistique des parlers arabes algériens". *Revue Africaine* 79.91-3.

-----, 1937. "Les parlers arabes du département d'Alger". *Revue Africaine* 81.703-711.

-----, 1939. "Les parlers arabes du département de Constantine". *Actes*, Fourth Congress of the [French] Federation of Learned Societies of North Africa, Algiers. 2.849-863.

-----, 1940. "Les parlers arabes du département d'Oran". *Revue Africaine* 84.220-231.

-----, 1950. "Réflexions sur la phonologie de l'arabe marocain" [With G.S. Colin]. *Hespéris* 37.193-207.

-----, 1951. "Analyse phonologique du parler arabe d'el-Hâmma de Gabès". *Bulletin*, Linguistic Society of Paris. 66.64-105.

-----, 1955. "La dialectologie arabe". *Orbis* 4.149-168.

Carbonnel, Jules, n.d. *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, contenant les principaux mots employés dans la conversation, le style epistolaire et judiciaire. Algiers.

-----, n.d. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Algiers.

Castillo y Olivas, Pedro M. del, 1860. *Diálogos españoles-árabes; guía de la conversación moghrabi*. Madrid.

Caussin de Perceval, A.-P., 1833. *Grammaire arabe vulgaire pour les dialectes d'Orient et de Barbarie*. Paris.

Cesaro, Antonio, 1939. *L'arabo parlato a Tripoli*.

Chengiti, see Shinqīṭi.

Cherbonneau, Jacques-Auguste, 1849. "Définition lexigraphique de plusieurs mots usités dans le langage de l'Afrique septentrionale". *Journal Asiatique* 63-70; 537-551.

-----, 1855. "Observations sur l'origine et la formation du langage arabe africain". *Journal Asiatique* 549-560.

-----, 1861. "Nouvelles observations sur le dialecte arabe de l'Algérie". *Journal Asiatique* 357-389.

-----, 1872. *Dictionnaire français-arabe pour la conversation en Algérie*. Paris.

-----, 1876. *Dictionnaire arabe-français, langue ecrite*. Paris.

Cherif-Zahar, A., 1959. *Enaphone arabe-algérien*. Algiers.

Cleeman, E., 1954. *Manuel d'arabe dialectal*. 2 vols. Paris.

Clermont, J., 1909. *L'Arabe parlé tunisien*. Tunis.

-----, 1938. *Le dialecte tunisien; historiettes, moeurs, coutumes et dictons*. Tunis.

-----, 1948. *Manuel de conversation franco-arabe, dialecte tunisien*. 2nd ed. Tunis.

Cohen, Marcel, 1912. *Le parler arabe des juifs d'Alger*. Paris.

-----, 1937. "Ponctuations du discours empruntées au français par l'arabe vulgaire d'Algérie". *Mélanges de géographie et d'orientalisme* offered to E.F. Gauthier 152-6. Tours.

Colin, G.S., 1926. "Etymologies magribines". *Hespéris* 6.55-82.

-----, 1928. "Les voyelles de disjonction dans l'arabe de Grenade au XVe siècle". *Mémorial* to H. Basset 1.211-218. Paris.

-----, 1930a. "Notes de dialectologie arabe". *Hespéris* 10.91-120.

-----, 1930b. "Mauritanica". *Hespéris* 11.131-143.

-----, 1931. "Un document nouveau sur l'arabe dialectal d'Occident au XXIe siècle". *Hespéris* 12.1-32.

-----, 1935. "L'opposition au réel et de l'éventuel en arabe marocain". *Bulletin*, Linguistic Society of Paris 36.133-140.

-----, 1937. *Pour lire la presse arabe*. Rabat.

-----, 1939 (and 1955). *Chrestomathie marocaine*. Paris. [Tr. R.S. Harrell, 1960]

-----, 1942. *Recueil de textes en arabe marocain, contes et anecdotes*. Paris.

-----, 1945. "L'Arabe". *Initiation au Maroc* 219-238. Paris.

-----, 1947. "Quelques 'emprunts' de morphèmes étrangers dans les parlers arabes occidentaux". *Comptes rendus* du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques 4.42-47. Paris.

Crawford, Kenneth P., n.d. *The Spoken Arabic of Tripoli, Libya*. Washington, D.C.

Crussard, E., and Hadj Ahmad Chergui, 1910. *Manuel de conversation pratique (dialecte tunisien) à l'usage des candidats au certificat de connaissance d'arabe parlé*. Tunis.

Curotti, Torquato, 1933. *Il dialetto libico; grammatica con esercizi di traduzione, conversatione ed espressione idiomache; dizzionario italiano-libico, e libico-italiano*. Tripoli.

Delaporte, J. Honorat, 1841. *Guide de la conversation français-arabe ou dialogues*. 2nd ed. Algiers.

-----, 1845. *Principes de l'idiome arabe en usage à Alger*. Algiers.

-----, 1846. *Cours de version arabes (idiome d'Alger)*. Algiers.

Delphin, Gaëtan, 1904. *Recueil de textes pour l'études de l'arabe parlé*. Algiers.

Desparmet, Joseph, 1907. *Arabe dialectal d'après la méthode directe*. 2nd ed. Algiers.

-----, 1909-1910. *Contes populaire sur les ogres recueillis à Blida*. 2 vols. Paris.

-----, 1913. *Enseignement de l'arabe dialectal*. Algiers.

-----, 1948, 1959. *Coutumes, institutions, croyances des indigènes de l'Algérie*. Vol. I, 1948; Vol. II, 1959. Algiers.

Destaing, Edmond, 1940. *Textes arabes en parler des chleuhs du sous (Maroc)*. Transcription, traduction, glossaire. Paris.

Dhina, Amar, 1938. "Notes sur le parler des arbā^{c}". *Revue Africaine* 82.313-353.

-----, 1940. "Textes arabes du sud-algérois". *Revue Africaine* 84.93-117.

-----, 1956. *Manuel des débutants en arabe parlé*. Algiers.

1797. *Dialogues in the Vulgar Language of Morocco*. By an English sailor. London.

Djidjelli, M. and A., 1958. *Premier livre d'arabe dialectal*. Algiers.

Dombay, Franz Lorenz de, 1800. *Grammatica Linguae Mauroarabicae juxta Vernaculi*.... Vienna.

Doutté, Edmond, 1903. "Un texte arabe en dialecte oranais". *Mémoires* of the Linguistic Society of Paris 12.335-370; 373-496.

Duboulez-Laffin, Marie-Louise, 1946. *Le bou-mergoud, folklore tunisien; croyances et coutumes populaires de Sfax et de sa région*. Paris.

Ducati, Bruno, 1933. *Grammatica pratica della lingua araba parlata in Tripolitania*. Bologna.

Ech-Chengîti, see Shinqīṭi.

Entwistle, W.J., 1936. *The Spanish Language*. London.

Faidherbe, L.-L.-C., 1887. *Langues sénégalaises, wolof, arabe-hassania, soninké, sérène*. Paris.

Falls, J.C. Ewald, 1908. *Beduinen-Lieder der libyschen Wüste*. Cairo.

Farès, Jelloûli, see Marçais, William.

Farina, Giulio, 1912. *Grammatica araba per la lingua letteraria con un appendice sul dialetto tripolino*. Heidelberg.

Ferguson, Charles A., and John M. Echols, 1952. "Critical Bibliography of Spoken Arabic Proverb Literature". *Journal of American Folklore* 65-67-84.

Ferré, Daniel, n.d. *Lexique marocain-français*. Fedala.

Fischer, August, 1899. "Zum Wortton im Marokkanischen". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 2.ii.275-286.

-----, 1907. "Eine interessante algierisch-marokkanische Genetivumschreibung". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 16.178-185.

-----, 1917. *Zur Lautlehre des marokkanische-Arabischen*. Leipzig.

-----, 1918. *Das Liederbuch eines marokkanischen Sängers*. Leipzig.

Fischer, Wolfdietrich, 1959. *Die demonstrativen Bildungen der neuarabischen Dialekte*. Hague.

Fleury, Victor, and M. Soualah, 1955. *L'arabe pratique et commercial*. Algiers.

Fück, Johann, 1955. *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis an den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig.

Galmés de Fuentes, Alvaro, 1956. *Influencias sintáciticas y estilísticas del árabe en la prosa medieval castellana*. Madrid.

Gasselin, Edouard, 1880. *Dictionnaire français-arabe (arabe vulgaire - arabe grammaticale)*. 2 vols. Paris.

Gateau, A., 1946. "Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie". *Revue Africaine* 90.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Maurice, 1904. "Récit en dialecte tlemcenien par ^{c}Abd-al-^{c}Azīz Zengui". *Journal Asiatique* 45-116.

-----, and Régis Blachère, 1937. *Grammaire de l'arabe classique*. Paris.

-----, and Louis Mercier, 1914. *Manuel d'arabe marocain avec introduction historique et géographique*. Paris.

Giacobetti, A., 1916. *Recueil d'énigmes arabes populaires*. Algiers.

Gilles, 1908. *Le dialecte marocain*. Tangier.

Glenn, Paul M., and William L. Soleau, 1957. *Moroccan Arabic*. U.S. Air Force.

Griffini, Eugenio, 1913. *L'arabo parlato della Libia*. Milan.

Gorguos, A., 1849-1850. *Cours d'arabe vulgaire*. 2 vols. Paris.

Guîga, Abderrahman, see Marçais, William.

[Ḥakīm] (Haquím), Mohammed ibn-'Azzuz, 1953. *Glosario de mil quinientas voces españolas usadas entre los marroquíes en el árabe vulgar*. Madrid.

-----, 1955. *Cuentos populares marroquíes*. Madrid.

-----, (Akím), 1958. *Dictionario de supersticiones y mitos marroquíes*. Madrid.

-----, 1959. *Folklore infantil de Gumara el Haila*. Madrid.

Hamidou, Abdelhamid, 1936. "Aperçus sur la poésie vulgaire de Tlemcen; les deux poètes populaires de Tlemcen Ibn-Amsaib et Ibn-Triki". *Revue Africaine* 29.ii.1007-1046.

-----, 1937. "Devinettes populaires de Tlemcen". *Revue Africaine* 81.357-372.

Haquím, see Ḥakīm.

Harrell, Richard S., tr., 1959. *Lessons in Colloquial Moroccan Arabic*. 2 vols. Washington, D.C. [Translation of Nekrouf, *Méthode active*...]

-----, tr., 1960. *A Moroccan Arabic Reader*. Washington, D.C. [Translation of Colin, 1939]

Harris, Zellig, 1942. "The Phonemes of Moroccan Arabic". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 62.309-318.

Hartmann, Martin, 1899. "Lieder der Libyschen Wüste". *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 11.ii.

Herbin, Auguste François Julien, 1803. *Développements de principes de la langue arabe moderne*. Paris.

Höst, George Hjersing, 1791. *Efterretninger*. Copenhagen.

Houdas, Octave Victor, 1891. *Chrestomathie maghrébine; recueil de textes arabe inédits avec vocabulaires*. Paris.

Iannotta, Elpidio, 1933. *L'arabo parlato in Cirenaica, nozioni di grammatica, vocabuli vari, saggio di composione beduini in prosa o in versi*. Bengasi.

Ibáñez, Esteban, 1944. *Diccionario español-rifeño*. Madrid.

-----, 1947. "Mosaico lingüístico de Marruecos español". *Africa*. Madrid.

Ibn-Ṭufayl, [Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-^{c}Abd-al-Malik], 1929. *The History of Ḥayy ibn-Yaqdhān*. New York.

Irving, T.B., 1952. "The Spanish Reflexive and the Verbal Sentence". *Hispania* 35.305-309.

-----, 1953. "Completion and Becoming in the Spanish Verb". *Modern Language Journal* 37.412-414.

-----, with Hachemi Saada and Mohamed Chakchouk, 1959. *Conversational Practice in Tunisian Arabic*. Austin.

Joly, J., 1900-1904. "Remarques sur la poésie moderne chez les nomades algériens". *Revue Africaine*.

-----, 1909a. "Chanson du répertoire algérois". *Revue Africaine* 53.46-66.

-----, 1909b. "Poésies du sud". *Revue Africaine* 53.285-307.

Jouin, Jeanne, 1950. "Chants et jeux maternels à Rabat". *Hespéris* 37.137-156.

Jourdain, J., 1913. *Cours pratique et complete d'arabe vulgaire, dialecte Tunisien*. Tunis.

-----, 1956. *Cours pratique d'arabe dialectal*. 7th ed. Tunis.

Kampffmeyer, Georg. "Arabic Dialects" *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1.394-402. 1st ed.

-----, 1899a. "Beiträge zur Dialectologie des Arabischen". *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 13.1-34; 227-250.

-----, 1899b. "Materialen zum Studium der arabischen Beduinendialekte Innerafrikas". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 2.ii.143-221.

-----, 1905. "Südalgerische Studien". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 8.225-244.

-----, 1908. "Untersuchungen über den Ton im Arabischen". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 11.1-59.

-----, 1909. "Texte aus Fes, mit einem Text aus Tanger". Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen 12.ii.1-32. [In Maghribi script, with transliteration and translation]

-----, 1912. Marokkanisch-arabisch Gespräche im Dialekt von Casablanca. Berlin.

Kazimirski, see Biberstein de Kazimirski.

Klingenheben, August, 1927. "Texte in arabischen Dialekt von Larasch in Spanisch-Marokko". Islamica 3.73-85.

Lakhdar, Aḥmad, 1958. Pour apprendre la langue arabe. Fidāla.

Landberg, Carlo de, 1905. "La langue arabe et ses dialectes". 14th Congress of Orientalists, Leyden.

Legey, Françoise, 1926. Essai de folklore marocain. Paris.

Lentin, Albert, 1960. Supplément au dictionnaire pratique arabe-français de Marcelin Beaussier. Algiers.

Lerchundi, L.J., 1900. Rudiments of the Arabic-Vulgar of Morocco. Tangier.

-----, 1933. Vocabulario español-arábigo de Marruecos. 3rd ed. Tangier.

-----, 1945. Rudimentos de árabe vulgar. 7th ed. Tangier.

Lévi-Provençal, Evariste, 1922. Textes arabes de l'Ouargha, dialecte des Jbala (Maroc septentrional). Paris.

-----, 1948. Extraits des historiens arabes du Maroc. Paris.

Littman, Enno, 1903. "Le chant de la belle-mère en arabe moderne". Journal Asiatique 97-131.

Loubignac, Victorien, 1952. Textes arabes des Zaër. Paris.

Lüderitz, H., 1899. "Sprüchwörter aus Marokko". Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen.

Machordom Comins, Alvaro, 1954. Método español-árabe. Madrid.

Machuel, L., 1892. Grammaire elémentaire d'arabe régulier. Algiers.

-----, 1900. Méthode pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé (idiome algérien). 5th ed. Algiers.

-----, 1901. Eddalil; ou guide de l'arabisant qui étudie les dialectes parlés en Algérie et en Tunisie. Algiers.

-----, 1903. Une première année d'arabe. 3rd ed. Algiers.

-----, 1908. Le guide de l'interprète (recueil de lettres arabes). Tunis.

-----, 1912. *L'arabe sans maître; ou guide de la conversation arabe en Tunisie et en Algérie à l'usage des colons et des voyageurs*. Paris.

-----, 1933. *Les voyages de Sinbad le marin*. Algiers. [In Maghribi script, with glossary]

Malka, Elie, 1951. *Nouveau dictionnaire pratique d'arabe administratif, arabe-français avec un index français-arabe correspondent*. Tangier.

Mangion, M., 1937. "Le dialecte arabe de l'Edough". *Revue Africaine* 81.373-380.

Marçais, Philippe, 1936. "Remarque sur un fait syntaxique du parler arabe d'El-Milia". *Revue Africaine* 79.1047-1055.

-----, 1948. "L'articulation de l'emphase dans un parler arabe maghrébin". *Annales,* Institut d'Etudes Orientales, Univ. of Algiers. 7.5-28.

-----, 1954. *Textes arabes de Djidjelli*. Paris.

-----, 1957. "Les parlers arabes". *Initiation à l'Algérie*. Paris.

-----, 1958. *Le parler arabe de Djidjelli (Nord Constantinois, Algérie)*. Paris.

-----. "The Western Dialects" (under "^{c}Arabiyya"). *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New ed. 578-582.

Marçais, William, 1902. *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen; grammaire, textes et glossaire*. Paris.

-----, 1905. "Quelques observations sur le dictionnaire arabe-français de Beaussier". *Recueil de Mémoires et Textes*. 14th Orientalist Congress. 409-503. Algiers.

-----, 1906. "L'euphémisme et l'antiphrase dans les dialectes arabes d'Algérie". *Orient.Studien* to Th. Nöldeke, Giessen. 1.425-438.

-----, 1906-1909. "Le dialecte arabe des Ūlâd Brāhîm de Saïda (Département d'Oran)". *Mémoires,* Linguistic Society of Paris. 14.97-164; 416-472; 481-500 and 15.40-72; 104-129.

-----, 1911. *Textes arabes de Tanger*. Paris. [In Maghribi script, with transliteration, translation and glossary]

-----, 1912. "L'alternance vocalique a-u (a-) au parfait régulier (1ère Forme) dans le parler arabe de Tanger". *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 27.22-27.

-----, 1945. "[Les parlers arabes du Fezzan]". *Travaux*, Institut de Recherches Sahariennes. 3.186-188.

-----, 1950a. *Mélanges* [a Festschrift]. Paris.

-----, 1950b. "Les parlers arabes". *Initiation à la Tunisie*. Paris.

-----, 1953. "Nouvelles observations sur l'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghrebins". *Annales*, Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves. 13.331-398.

-----, and Jelloûli Farès, 1931-32-33. "Trois textes arabes d'el-Hâmma de Gabès". *Journal Asiatique* 219.193-248; 221.193-270; 223.1-88.

-----, and Abderrahman Guîga, 1925. *Textes arabes de Takroûna I*. Paris. [In Maghribi script]

Marchand, G., 1905. "Contes en dialecte marocain, publié, traduit et annoté". *Journal Asiatique* 411-472.

Marcil, Jean-Joseph, 1837. *Vocabulaire français-arabe des dialectes vulgaires africains; d'Alger, de Tunis, de Marok, et d'Egypte*. Paris.

Martin, Alfred J.P., 1919. *Méthode déductive d'arabe nord-africain (vulgaire et régulier)*. Paris.

Martínez Marina, Francisco, 1805. "Catálogo de algunas voces castellanas puramente árabes, o derivadas de la lengua griega, y de los idiomas orientales, pero introducidos en España por los árabes". *Memorias*, Real Academia de Historia. Vol. 4. Madrid.

Meakin, J.E. Budgett, 1891. *Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco*. London.

Meissner, Bruno, 1905. "Neuarabische Geschichten aus Tanger". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 8.ii.39-97.

Mercier, Henry, 1945. *Grammaire arabe d'arabe parlé marocain*. Rabat.

-----, 1946. *L'arabe par l'image; textes ethnographiques*. Rabat.

-----, 1957. *La politesse arabe au Maroc*. Tangier.

-----, 1959. *Dictionnaire français-arabe*. Rabat-Tangier.

Mercier, L., 1906. "Influence des langues berbère et espagnole sur le dialecte arabe". Archives Marocaines 6.417-422.

Merino, Manuel B., 1808. Compendio gramatical para aprender la lengua arábiga. Madrid.

Millon, G., 1937. "Les parlers de la région d'Alger". Revue Africaine 81.345-351.

Mitchell, T.F., 1952. "The Active Participle in an Arabic Dialect of Cyrenaica". Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 14.i.11-33.

-----, 1957. "The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica: A Situational Statement". Hesperia 31-41.

Mouette, German, 1683. Relation de la captivité. Paris.

Mouliéras, Auguste Jean, 1888. Manuel Algérien, grammaire, chrestomathie et lexique. Paris.

Narbeshuber, Karl, 1907. Aus dem Leben des arabischen Bevölkerung in Sfax. Leipzig.

Nebrija, Antonio Martínez de, 1926. Gramática de la lengua castellana. Oxford.

[Nebrija] (Lebrija), Antonio de, 1909. Gramática castellana. Halle.

Nekrouf, Younes, n.d. Méthode active d'arabe dialectal. 2 vols. Rabat.

-----, 1959. Lessons in Colloquial Moroccan Arabic, tr. R.S. Harrell. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.

Nicolas, Alfred, 1938a. Dictionnaire arabe-français. Tunis.

-----, 1938b. Dictionnaire français-arabe. Tunis.

Ockley, Simon, 1713. An Account of Southwest Barbary. London.

O'Leary, DeLacy, 1923. Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. London.

-----, 1951. Colloquial Arabic. 10th ed. London-New York.

Oro, Lt.Col. de, 1940. Algo sobre el hasanía o dialecto árabe que se habla en el Sahara atlántico.

Ostroya-Doma, S., 1938. "Notes préliminaires à l'étude des parlers arabes de l'arrondissement de Philippeville". Revue Africaine 82.60-83.

Panetta, Ester, 1940. Pratiche e credenza popolari libiche. Rome.

-----, 1943a. *L'arabo parlato a Bengasi*. 2 vols. Rome.

-----, 1943b. *Forme e soggetti della letteratura popolare libica*. Milan.

-----, 1956. *Poesie e canti popolare arabi*. Modena.

Paulmier, Ad., 1850. *Dictionnaire français-arabe (idiome parlé en Algérie)*. Paris.

Pellat, Charles, 1950. "Sur deux emprunts au berbère par l'arabe". *Mélanges* 251-288.

-----, 1952. *L'arabe vivant; mots arabes groupés d'après le sens et vocabulaire fondamental de l'arabe moderne*. Paris.

-----, 1956. *Introduction à l'arabe moderne*. Paris.

Peregrín Peregrín, Ginés, 1944. *Método PP para el rápido aprendizaje del árabe vulgar*. Tetuan.

-----, 1947. *Paremiología marroquí (florilegio del refranero popular)*. Tetuan.

Pérès, Henri, 1950. "L'arabe dialectal en espagne musulmane aux Xe et XIe siècles de notre ere". *Mélanges* 289-300.

-----, 1957. *Cahier d'arabe dialectal*. 3rd ed. Algiers.

-----, 1959. *L'arabe dialectal algérien et saharien: bibliographie analytique avec un index méthodique, références arrêtées au 31 décembre 1957*. Algiers.

Pianel, G., 1950a. "Sobriquets marocains". *Hespéris* 37.443-459.

-----, 1950b. "Notes sur quelques argots arabes du Maroc". *Hespéris* 37.460-467.

Pierret, Roger, 1948. *Etude de dialecte maure des régions sahariennes et sahéliennes*. Paris.

Quéméneur, J., 1945. "En décortiquant les amandes... enigmes populaires". *Revue de l'Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes* 8.423-430.

Renon, A., n.d. *La vivante grammaire; manuel pratique d'arabe dialecte tunisien*. Tunis.

Rescher, O., 1917-1918. "Algerisch-tunesische Briefe". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 20-21.ii.

-----, 1918. "Eine lexicographische Liste zum Dialekt der Brakma (Sengal Araber)". *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* 21.ii.113-125.

Reynier, 1909. *Méthode pour l'étude du dialecte maure (Mauritanie et Bas-Sénégal)*. Tunis.

Ricard, Robert, 1928. "Remarques sur l'*Arte* et la *Vocabularista* de Fr. Pedro de Alcalá". *Mémoriale* to Henry Basset. 2.229-236.

Rittwagen, Guillermo, 1909. *De filología hispano-arábigo*. Tangier.

Roland de Bussy, Théodore, 1835. *Petit vocabulaire français-arabe (idiome d'Alger)*. Algiers.

-----, 1843. *L'idiome d'Alger, ou dictionnaires français-arabe et arabe-français, précédés des principes grammaticaux de cette langue*. Algiers.

Roux, Arsène, 1936a. "Quelques argots arabes et berbères du Maroc". *Revue Africaine* 79.1067-88.

-----, 1936b. "Quelques mots sur le langage des musulmans marocains". *Orbis* 1.i.376-384.

Saheb-Ettaba, Mouncef, and Caroline-Squire Saheb-Ettaba, 1956. *Initiation à l'Arabe*. Paris.

-----, 1959. *Arabic Made Easy*. New York.

Sa'id, Majed F., 1955. *Spoken Moroccan Arabic*. Washington, D.C.

Samuda, 1833. *Principes de la langue arabe en usage à Alger, mis en rapport avec ceux de la langue ecrite*. Algiers.

Sánchez Pérez, José A., 1952. *Cuentos árabes populares*. Madrid.

Sans, B., 194-. *Apprenons l'arabe, méthode simple et pratique pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé au Maroc*. Beirut-Casablanca?

Savary, Claude Etienne, 1813. *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littérale*. Paris.

[Shinqīti] (Ech-Chengîti) Aḥmad bin-al-Amīn, 1911. *Al-Wasīṭ fī tarājim 'udabā' Shinqīṭ*. Cairo. [pp. 485-489 on language]

-----, 1953. *El Wasīt-littérature, histoire, géographie, moeurs et coutumes des habitants de la Mauritanie*, tr. Murad Teffahi. St.Louis-Sengal.

Sicard, Jules, 1934. *Vocabulaire franco-arabe, dialecte marocain*. 4th ed. Paris.

Silvestre de Sacy, Antoine Isaac, 1829. *Anthologie grammaticale arabe, avec une traduction française*. 2 vols. Paris.

Simon, M., 1953. "Punique ou berbère? Notes sur la situation linguistique dans l'Afrique romaine". *Bulletin*, Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves. 14.613-629.

Smith, Harlie L., Jr., 1953. *The Phonology of Arabic Loan Words in Old Spanish*. Minneapolis. [unpub. Ph.D. dissertation]

Socin, Albert, 1893. *Zum arabischen dialekt von Marokko*. Leipzig. *Abhandlungen* der phil.-hist. Classen der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 14.149-203.

-----, and Hans Stumme, 1894. "Der arabisch Dialekt der Howâra des Wād-Sūs in Marokko". *Abhandlungen* der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 15.

Soller, Ch., 1889. *Langue arabe du Maroc; grammaire, chrestomathie et glossaire*. Paris.

Sonneck, Constantin Louis, 1902. *Chants arabes du Maghreb*. Paris.

Soualah and Fleury, see Fleury and Soualah.

Soualah, Mohammed, 1912. *L'auxiliaire de l'arabisant*. 2nd ed. Algiers.

-----, 1913. *Cours supérieur d'arabe parlé*. Algiers.

-----, 1941. *Cours elémentaire d'arabe parlé*. Algiers.

-----, 1942. *Cours moyen d'arabe*. Algiers.

-----, 1947. *Méthode pratique d'arabe*. 8th ed. Algiers.

-----, 1958. *Cours complémentaire d'arabe parlé*. Algiers.

-----, n.d. *Lectures littéraires et récréatives arabes*. Algiers.

-----, n.d. *La société indigène de l'Afrique du nord*. Algiers.

Steiger, Arnald, 1932. *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabismos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano*. *Revista de filología española*, Añejo XVII.

Stuhlmann, Franz, 1914. *Die Mâzigh Völker*. Hamburg.

Stumme, Hans, 1893. *Tunisische Märchen und Gedichte*. Leipzig.

-----, 1894. *Tripolitanisch-tunisisch Beduinen-Lieder*. Leipzig.

-----, 1896a. *Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch, nebst Glossar*. Leipzig.

-----, 1896b. "Neue tunisische Sammlungen". *Zeitschrift für Af. und Ocean. Sprachen* 2.97-144.

-----, 1898. *Märchen und Gedichte aus der Stadt Tripolis in Nordafrika*. Leipzig.

-----, 1902. *Arabisch, Persisch und Türkisch in den Grundzügen der Laut- und Formenlehre*. Leipzig.

as-Sūsi, Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn, 1949. *Ṭarīqat ta^{c}līm al-khaṭṭ*. Tetuan.

Tapiéro, N., 1958. *Manuel d'arabe algérien*. Paris.

Tedjini, Belqacem, 1925a. *Dictionnaire français-arabe*. Paris.

-----, 1925b. *Manuel de conversation français marocain*. Paris.

-----, 1948. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris.

Tien, Anton, 1943 and 1954. *Egyptian, Syrian and North African Handbook*. New York.

Trombetti, Alfredo, 1913. *Manuale dell' arabo parlato a Tripoli*. Milan.

Vaglieri, Laura Vecchia, 1951. *Grammatica elementare di arabo*. Rome.

-----, 1959. *Grammatica teorico-pratica della lingua araba*. Rome.

Vollers, K., 1892. "The System of Arabic Sounds, as based upon Sibaweih and ibn-Yaish". *Transactions*, Ninth Congress of Orientalists. 2.130-154.

War Department, 1943a. *A Language Guide to North Africa*. Washington, D.C.

-----, 1943b. *North African Arabic, A Guide to the Spoken Language*. (TM 30-321). Washington, D.C.

Watin, Louis, 1954. *Recueil de Textes Marocains, Style Administratif*. Paris.

Westermarck, Edward, and Shereef 'Abd-es-Selam el-Baqqali, 1931. *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco, a Study of Native Proverbs*. New York.

Williams, Talcott, 1890. "Historical Survivals in Morocco". *Papers* of the American Historical Association. 4.iii.13-36.

-----, 1898. "The Spoken Arabic of North Morocco". *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitische Sprachwissenschaft* 3.561-587.

[az-Zajjāji] (Zaǧǧāǧi), Abū-al-Qāsim ^{c}Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Isḥāq, 1957. *Al-Ǧumal, précis de grammaire arabe*. Paris.

Maltese Arabic Studies by P. P. Saydon

Introduction

The following handlist of books and articles on Maltese, which is taken up with abridgements and some additions from a review in the Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Saydon 1953), is intended to give a comprehensive view of all the material available for the study of Maltese.

Maltese is an offshoot of the great family of Arabic dialects, which, owing to its complete separation from the main Arabic trunk and the close contacts with Romance languages, had a development of its own, a development which distinguishes it from all other Arabic dialects. Arabic was imported into the Island in the year 870 A.D. When the Arabs were expelled from the Island in 1090, their language remained, but was strongly influenced by the neo-Latin languages of the new masters, which have made, and are still making, deep inroads into the Semitico-Arabic structure of the language.

General and Comparative Studies

The problem of the origin of the Maltese language has engaged the attention of Maltese scholars for a long time. From the very first opinion was divided. While some scholars endeavored to trace Maltese back to Phoenician, others advocated an Arabic origin, and it was the latter view that prevailed and is now generally held.

In the lengthy introductions to his grammar (1791b) and dictionary (1796b) M.A. Vassalli holds that Maltese is derived from Phoenician, was deeply influenced by Punic and later by Arabic, but is by no means an Arabic dialect. Although Vassalli shared the prejudices common to his age, he pointed out the right direction of Maltese linguistic research by emphasizing the necessity of the study of Arabic for the study of Maltese.

The Phoenician origin of Maltese was again upheld by J.J. Bellermann (1809) whose view was disproved by W. Gesenius (1810), who showed that Maltese was only an Arabic dialect having peculiarities of its own.

Two short articles by M.G. de Slane (1846) and C. Sandreczki (1876, 1879) bring out a few Maltese-Arabic affinities.

Perhaps the staunchest supporter of the Phoenician origin of Maltese is A. Preca who, in his two books on Maltese (1880, 1904), tries to prove that "the Arabs did not create the Maltese language, they simply changed the language of the people into their own". Another staunch supporter of the Phoenician theory is A.E. Caruana (1896). The author divides his work into two parts. In Part I he endeavors to prove that since the days of the Phoenicians no ethnographical changes have occurred in Malta. In Part II he discusses the following points: (1) Maltese phonetics is nearer to Hebrew than to Arabic; (2) the vocabulary of Arabic is immensely rich, that of Maltese and Hebrew is relatively poor; (3) the grammar of Maltese is far less developed and therefore more primitive than that of Arabic; (4) Maltese is more closely related to Phoenician than to Hebrew. The treatment is too theoretical and underestimates actual linguistic phenomena. Hence the work fails to convince.

V. Caruana dei Conti Gatto's monograph on the origin of the Maltese language is a popular treatise of no scientific value (1906). Another popular and not less unconvincing treatise is a small monograph by L.F. Mizzi (1923), who contends that the Maltese language is derived from Persian.

The Introduction to Barbera's Dictionary (1939-40c) contains, besides an outline of Maltese grammar, a short chapter on the origin of Maltese. The author upholds a Syrian-Arabic origin, a view that had been already propounded by H. Stumme in his Maltesische Studien (1904a).

One of the best contributions to the comparative study of Maltese is L. Bonelli's work on "The Maltese dialect" published in the Archivio Glottologico Italiano (1897-1907). Unfortunately, the work is incomplete, section II of part II, and part III never having been published. The work, as originally planned, was to contain literary texts with translation, vocabulary, and a comparative study of Maltese and Arabic. But despite its incompleteness and some slight inaccuracies, Bonelli's work is unquestionably a standard work which deserves the attention of all scholars of Maltese.

Another serious approach to the scientific study of Maltese was made by the German oriental scholar H. Stumme who collected from the mouths of the people many popular prose and verse texts to which he added a German translation and philological explanations. Stumme upholds the view of a Syro-Arabic origin of Maltese with Magrebinic influences (1904a, 1904b, Ilg 1909).

Stumme's work was reviewed by Th. Nöldeke, who disagrees with Stumme over the question of the immediate ancestors of Maltese. While Stumme upholds a Syro-Arabic origin, Nöldeke claims a direct Magrebinic relationship (1904). I am rather inclined to believe that the Magrebinic affinities are due to strong North African influences which were at work after the Arabic occupation of Malta.

The Arabic affinities of Maltese form the subject of a small book by B. Roudanovsky (1909) who shows an utterly inadequate knowledge of Maltese and a deplorable ignorance of the principles of Semitic comparative philology, which make his book completely unreliable.

The right way of investigating the stratification of the Semitic element of Maltese has been pointed out by P.P. Saydon (1929) who contends that there are at least two Arabic strata in Maltese: the upper or younger one, of a North African origin, formed after the expulsion of the Arabs from the Island in 1090; the other formed during the Arabic domination in 870-1090. It is extremely difficult to discover traces of a pre-Arabic Semitic stratum. There seem to be, however, some traces of a Latin pre-Arabic stratum (1956).

G. Vella's short monograph on the Maltese dialect consists of synoptic tables illustrating some of the more obvious lexical and grammatical Maltese-Arabic affinities (1929).

The best treatment of Maltese in modern times is Professor J. Aquilina's book Maltese Papers which reproduces some articles already published in foreign and local periodicals (1961). Aquilina's main thesis is that Maltese is a mixed language with a mixed vocabulary and a mixed grammar. He collects and analyses a vast number of linguistic facts that are obvious to all Maltese scholars, referring them to their Arabic or Siculo-Italian sources. And this is the chief merit of the book. Although the conclusions are on the whole reliable, there are some points on which one may disagree. The qualification of Maltese as a "mixed language" may lead to a misrepresentation of the true nature of Maltese. All languages are to a certain extent mixed languages, yet no one has ever called English, French, German or any other language a mixed language. Maltese is simply an Arabic dialect with neo-Latin accessions, as English is a Saxon language with innumerable Norman or French loan-words. Moreover, philology does not consist in the mere scanning of dictionaries and picking out those words that sound like Maltese words. Mere similarity of sound does not necessarily imply a genetic relation. The word *dliel* 'hair' is only remotely related to Hebrew *dallah*; a much nearer relation is Arabic *dalâl* 'chevelure' (Dozy), 'coma' (Voc.). So also the verb *bewwaq*, which does not mean 'to make hollow' but 'to blow out' and is said of a piece of cloth or a carpet which when stretched out does not make a smooth surface but at some point is slightly raised up as if it were blown out, is only apparently related to Hebrew *buqah*, which besides being a word used almost only in poetry, means 'emptiness due to the removal of things'. *Šandar* 'to divulge' has no connection with Hebrew *šaddar* (not *šiddar*), which is Aramaic and occurs in the Targum, not in the Bible, and means 'to send'; Arabic has *šanẓar* 'to slander', which is nearer to Maltese. The paper on toponymy is, perhaps, the weakest. It is incomplete. Some names are not explained or wrongly explained. The name *Kordin* for *qortin* (p. 215) is unexplained. *Luqa*, the name of a village, is not a proper name for *Luke*, but a common name meaning 'poplar'. Balbi de Correggio in his *History of the Malta Siege* (1565) writes that many poplars grew in a place not far from Luqa village. *Naššar* is not 'sawyer' (p. 218), but 'salt-pan' (Dozy). *Zabbar* (p. 234) is not 'the pruner', but 'the aloe-tree'.

One important point on which I disagree with Professor Aquilina is the problem of the language spoken by the Maltese before the advent of the Arabs. Professor Aquilina holds, without proof, that the language was Punic (pp. 121, 180). I am rather inclined to think that the language was Latin. Professor Aquilina naturally rejects my arguments. I am not convinced. Moreover, Professor Aquilina misunderstands and misrepresents my views (pp. 8, 9). As I have no intention of polemizing I leave it to the common sense of scholars to decide.

Dictionaries

There are not many dictionaries of Maltese, and most of them are unobtainable. The first and best dictionary is that published by M.A. Vassalli in 1796. It is almost complete, though a good many words still in current use are omitted. The author states that he has gathered about 18,000 words, but many of them are derivatives. In spite of its high qualities, the work has some defects. Thus (1) the queer characters introduced by the author are offensive to the eye of the untrained reader; (2) the vocalization is based on the pronunciation of the author's native village; (3) the distinction between ghajn and ghrajn and between the weak spirant h and the two harder spirants seems to be based on etymological considerations rather than on actual pronunciation; (4) some words have completely fallen into disuse, and it is doubtful whether they ever existed at all; (5) some words and expressions of daily use are omitted. Yet this work still remains the standard dictionary of Maltese.

F. Vella's dictionary (1843) is an elementary work destitute of any serious scientific value.

G.B. Falzon has given us Vassalli in a new and more fashionable dress (1845). The queer characters have, to a large extent, disappeared. Some obsolete words, probably of Vassalli's own manufacture, have also disappeared, but some of Vassalli's inaccuracies have passed into Falzon's dictionary. The author hardly makes any noticeable attempt to improve Vassalli's work. Besides his Maltese-Italian-English dictionary Falzon also composed an Italian-English-Maltese dictionary (1882). Every dictionary into Maltese is more or less marked by these defects: (1) meanings are sometimes mere transliterations of foreign words; (2) periphrastic meanings instead of one-word meanings; (3) synonymous renderings that are not the exact equivalents of the corresponding foreign words.

V. Azzopardi's Maltese-Italian-English dictionary (1856) and S. Mamo's English-Maltese dictionary (1885) are both elementary and popular. The former is intended for school-boys; the latter, though apparently more pretentious, is a mere word list without idioms.

V. Busuttil is the author of a Maltese-English dictionary (1900a) and an English-Maltese dictionary (1900b). Both are popular in their scope and as such they include all words that are actually used in Maltese regardless of their origin. Words, especially verbal forms, are entered under different grammatical forms. To these we may add the English and Maltese dictionary, Part I: A-L (no more published), published for pupils in the government elementary schools (Magro 1906).

A more serious attempt at originality and a higher scientific standard was made by A.E. Caruana (1903a). His dictionary marks an improvement on both Vassalli and Falzon. Words are entered under their respective stem-forms. Meanings and idiomatic usages are carefully recorded, but words of foreign origin are mercilessly ostracized. Occasionally words are referred to wrong roots.

Very different from these dictionaries is C.L. Dessoulavy's Maltese-Arabic wordlist (1938). The author is concerned with etymology rather than with semantics. Hence the book may be described as an etymological dictionary of the Arabic element of Maltese. The book marks a notable advance in the philological study of Maltese, and one cannot help feeling a little disappointed that the book has not been produced in a neater form.

The most ambitious and, at the same time, the most disappointing and most regressive work in the field of Maltese lexicography is admittedly G. Barbera's Maltese-Arabic-Italian dictionary (1939-40a). This is not an original work, but, so far as words and meanings go, a mere reprint of Falzon's dictionary. Its main external features are: (1) all Maltese words are written in Latin and Arabic script; (2) the English meanings given by Falzon are omitted; (3) the system of orthography is that in use in Falzon's time and consequently not in conformity with our present standard orthography; (4) every Maltese word is given its etymology; (5) explanations, corrections, criticism are added to most words. Unfortunately, many etymological explanations are unscientific, unacceptable and, sometimes, absurd. The author states in his Introduction that his dictionary is intended to make good the Maltese people's ignorance of the scientific study of their own language. Unfortunately this purpose has not been achieved. The work hardly makes any appreciable contribution to Maltese linguistic studies.

The last and most recent dictionary is that published by the Maltese Government (1946-). It is a translation of the Concise Oxford Dictionary, meant for general education. Although the translation is fairly correct, it is regrettable that a few wrong renderings have been allowed to slip in.

Grammars

Most of our grammars share the same fault, that of being modeled after the pattern of the Italian grammar, with which the Maltese grammarians were more familiar than that of the Arabic language.

The first grammar is that by G.P.F. de Soldanis (1750) which may be described as the first unsuccessful attempt at reducing the Maltese language to grammatical rules. The rules are forced into the framework of the Italian grammar, and the result is a hybrid, grotesque representation of Maltese grammar.

Much better are the two grammars by the lexicographer M.A. Vassalli (1791a, 1827). They are both planned on sound scientific lines and worked out in the light of Arabic grammar. But the chapter on the verb is disappointing. The second edition is a marked improvement on the first.

F. Vella's efforts to Italianize the Maltese grammar have resulted in a dreadfully confused exposition of grammatical rules hardly of any help to the English reader for whom the book is intended (1831). F. Panzavecchia's grammar (1845) is planned on more rational lines. The author's knowledge of Arabic has greatly contributed to a clear exposition of grammatical rules. But Italian grammar still looms large all through the book, giving a distorted picture of the grammatical structure of Maltese. An outline of Maltese grammar, brief but fairly reliable, has been prefixed by A.E. Caruana to his Maltese dictionary (1903b).

Though the author rightly deplores the Italian standpoint of Maltese grammarians, he himself could not entirely escape the Italian influence.

Emancipation from Italian influence is the distinguishing mark of B. Roudanovsky's Maltese Pocket Grammar (1910). But the author seems to have had a very inadequate knowledge of Maltese; hence many grammatical peculiarities are completely obliterated. The book is scarcely of any theoretical or practical importance.

By far the best grammar of Maltese is the work of an Englishman who has never been to Malta, E.F. Sutcliffe (1936). The author, as an Englishman, is entirely free of Italian influence. This, together with knowledge of Arabic, has greatly helped to produce a grammar on Arabic lines, and consequently altogether different from all previous grammars. The chrestomathy and vocabulary at the end of the book add to the value of this grammar.

May Butcher's Elements of Maltese (1938) is different from all existing grammars of Maltese. It is a practical grammar intended for the self-tuition of English residents in Malta who would like to obtain a practical knowledge of the language; references to English grammar are frequent. But Oriental scholars will hardly derive any advantage from this book.

G. Barbera has prefixed an Arabo-Maltese grammar to his Maltese dictionary (1939-40b). His chief and only source of information seems to have been Sutcliffe's grammar (1936). A fundamental error of method lies in the uncompromising attitude of the author toward those phonetical, morphological and syntactical peculiarities of Maltese that do not tally exactly with Arabic usage. All such divergences, which are the result of the development of the language, are labeled by Barbera as corruptions, confusion, errors due to the ignorance of the Maltese people. By the way, Barbera's book is unsurpassed for its abusive language against Maltese writers, and especially against Sutcliffe, to whom Maltese is just what it is, not what it is supposed to be. No wonder that inaccuracies and errors abound. The grammar, as its companion dictionary, should be used with caution.

To these works on Maltese grammar one must add a few works on Maltese orthography. For many years there was no uniform system of orthography, and almost every writer had to devise his own system.

It was in the year 1920 that a band of Maltese writers met to discuss the problem of Maltese orthography. The result of the discussions is embodied in a book entitled Ta^{c}rif fuq il-kitba Maltija (Rules of Maltese Orthography) (1924), which has since become the official textbook of Maltese orthography. The same rules are expounded in Italian in a small book by G. Vassallo (1928), and are the basis of Cremona's grammar entitled Taghlim fuq il-kitba Maltija (A Maltese Grammar) (1935-38).

Other Studies

Professor Aquilina's above-mentioned work (1961) was preceded by another work which the sub-title calls "A Study in Mixed Grammar and Vocabulary" (1959), which is a descriptive exposition of all the constituent phonological elements, Semitic and non-Semitic, which form the Maltese language as it is spoken today. It is not a grammar properly called; indeed grammatical rules are few. On the contrary the book contains long lists of words illustrating phonetic and morphological rules.

An interesting article on Maltese was published in 1957 by G.S. Colin tracing a Berber origin of a few Maltese words (1957).

The Latin pre-Arabic element of Maltese forms the subject of a paper read before the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists held in Cambridge in 1954. The author finds some Latin traces in Maltese toponymy (Saydon 1956).

LIST OF TITLES

Aquilina, J., 1959. *The Structure of Maltese: A Study in Mixed Grammar and Vocabulary*. Malta.

-----, 1961. *Papers in Maltese Linguistics*. Malta.

Azzopardi, V., 1856. *Piccolo dizionario maltese-italiano*. Malta.

Barbera, G., 1939-40a. *Dizionario maltese-arabo-italiano con una grammatica comparata arabo-maltese*. 4 volumes. Beirut.

-----, 1939-40b. "Grammatica comparata arabo-Maltese". In Barbera 1939-40a, vol. I, pp. 33-117.

-----, 1939-40c. "Cenni storici su Malta e sulle lingue semitiche". In Barbera 1939-40a, Introduction, especially vol. I, pp. 21-29.

Bellermann, J.J., 1809. *Phoeniciae Linguae Vestigia in Melitensi*. Berlin.

Bonelli, L., 1897-1907. "Il dialetto maltese". In Ascoli, *Supplementi periodici all' Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 1897.53-98; 1899.37-70; 1900.1-68; 1907.1-50.

Busuttil, V., 1900a. *Dizzjunarju mill-Malti ghall-Inglis*. Malta. [Reprint, 1942]

-----, 1900b. *English-Maltese Dictionary*. Malta.

Butcher, May, 1938. *Elements of Maltese: A Simple, Practical Grammar*. London.

Caruana, A.E., 1896. *Sull'origine della lingua maltese: studio storico, etnografico e filologico*. Malta.

-----, 1903a. *Vocabulario della lingua maltese preceduto da un compendio di grammatica della stessa favella*. Malta.

-----, 1903b. *Principi di grammatica maltese*. Malta.

Caruana dei Conti Gatto, V., 1906. *Monografia critica della lingua maltese*. Malta.

Colin, G.S., 1957. "Mots berbères dans le dialecte arabe de Malte". *Mémorial André Basset* 7-16. Paris.

Cremona, A., 1935-38. *Taghlim fuq il-kitba Maltija*. Malta. [2nd edition, 1941; 3rd edition, 1944; 4th edition, 1950]

Dessoulavy, C.L., 1938. *A Maltese-Arabic Word List Showing Which of the Corresponding Arabic Roots are Shared by Other Semitic Tongues or Used in the Quran*. London.

Falzon, G.B., 1845. *Dizionario maltese-italiano-inglese*. Malta. [2nd edition, 1882]

-----, 1882. *Dizionario italiano-inglese-maltese*. Malta.

Gesenius, W., 1810. *Versuch über die maltesische Sprache zur Beurtheilung der neulich wiederholten Behauptung, dass sie ein Überrest der altpunischen sey, und als Beytrag zur arabischen Dialektologie*. Leipzig.

Ilg, B., and H. Stumme, 1909. *Maltesische Volkslieder im Urtext mit deutscher Übersetzung*. Leipziger semitistische Studien 3.6.

Magro, E., 1906. *English and Maltese Dictionary*. Part I: A-L. Malta.

Malta, 1946-. *English-Maltese Dictionary*. Malta.

Mamo, S., 1885. *English-Maltese Dictionary*. Malta.

Mizzi, L.F., 1923. *What is the Maltese Language?* Malta.

Nöldeke, Th., 1904. Review of Stumme 1904a, 1904b. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 58.903-920.

Panzavecchia, F., 1845. *Grammatica della lingua maltese spiegata secondo i principi delle lingue orientali e della lingua italiana*. Malta.

Preca, A., 1880. *Saggio intorno alla lingua maltese come affine dell'ebraico*. Malta.

-----, 1904. *Sull'origine della lingua maltese: studio storico, etnografico e filologico*. Malta.

Roudanovsky, B., 1909. *Quelques particularités du dialecte arabe de Malte*. Beirut. [2nd revised and enlarged edition, 1911]

-----, 1910. *Maltese Pocket Grammar*. Malta.

Sandreczki, C., 1876, 1879. "Die maltesische Mundart". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 30.723-737 (1876); 33.225-247 (1879).

Saydon, P.P., 1929. *Il-Malti u l-Ilsna Semin* [Maltese and the Semitic Languages]. Malta.

-----, 1953. "Bibliographical Aids to the Study of Maltese". *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12.20-30, 124-133.

-----, 1956. "The Pre-Arabic Latin Element of Maltese". *Orbis* 5.1.191-197.

-----, 1958. "The Vocalization of the Verb in Maltese". *Orbis* 7.1.168-182.

Slane, M.G. de, 1846. *Journal Asiatique*, May 1846, pp. 471ff.

Soldanis, G.P.F. de, 1750. *Nuova scuola di grammatica per agevolmente apprendere la lingua punica-maltese*. Rome.

Stumme, H., 1904a. *Maltesische Studien: Eine Sammlung prosaischer und poetischer Texte in maltesischer Sprache nebst Erläuterung*. Leipziger semitistische Studien 1.4.

-----, 1904b. *Maltesische Märchen, Gedichte und Rätsel in deutscher Übersetzung*. Leipziger semitistische Studien 1.5.

Sutcliffe, E.F., 1936. *A Grammar of the Maltese Language with Chrestomathy and Vocabulary*. London.

-----, 1957. "The Vowels of Verbs with Third Weak Radical". *Journal of the Faculty of Arts (Malta)* 1957.37-39.

Tagħrif fuq il-kitba Maltija, xogħol maħruġ mill-Għaqda tal-Kittieba tal-Malti, 1924. Malta.

Vassalli, M.A., 1791a. *Mylsen Phoenico-Punicum sive Grammatica Melitensis*. Rome.

-----, 1791b. "Praefatio Historica". In Vassalli 1791a.

-----, 1796a. *Ktyb yl Klym Malti, Mfysser byl-Latin u byt-Taljan, sive Liber Dictionum Melitensium, hoc est Michaelis Antonii Vassalli Lexicon Melitense-Latino-Italum*. Rome.

-----, 1796b. "Discorso preliminare". In Vassalli 1796a, pp. vii-lxii.

-----, 1827. *Grammatica della lingua maltese*. 2nd edition. Malta.

Vassallo, G., 1928. *L'ortografia maltese*. Malta.

Vella, F., 1831. *Maltese Grammar for the use of the English*. Livorno.

-----, 1843. *Dizionario portatile delle lingue maltese, italiana, inglese*. Livorno.

Vella, G., 1929. *Il dialetto maltese: Studio comparativo*. Malta.